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# THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

.. XV NO. 4

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# The Crushing of the Plot of the Rights and Trotskyites Is a Blow at the Fascist Warmongers

THE open trial that took place in Moscow between March 2 and 13 of the anti-Soviet "Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites"—Bukharin, Rykov, Krestinsky and Co.—brought to light a fascist plot unparalleled in its criminality.

The threads of this bloc were partly discovered during the trial of Zinoviev, Kamenev and others in 1936 and still more definitely during the trial of Piatakov, Radek and others in 1937. But only at the present trial was there discovered in all its fullness the existence of a monstrous international plot organized by the fascist intelligence services of Germany, Poland and Japan with the aid their agents and spies, Trotskyites, Bukharinites, SR's,* Mensheviks, bourgeois nationalists and out-and-out provocateurs of the tzarist Okhrana.

The trial of the participants of this counter-revolutionary, fascist bloc is of exceptionally great international importance.

Above all, the exposure and liquidation of the Trotskyite-Bukharinite plot is of inestimable significance from the point of view of the struggle for peace and against fascism.

On three continents the fascist rulers have already begun wars of plunder for a new redivision of the globe, threatening the peoples and states subjected to aggression with barbarous enslavement. The fascist intervention in Spain, the seizure of Austria by German fascism and the war of aggression by the Japanese militarists in China are all a provocation of world war. At any moment the whole of mankind may be drawn into a new slaughter.

Everybody knows what an outstanding role, as unyielding buttress of peace, is played by the Soviet Union in the international struggle between the forces of peace and the forces of war. The peace policy of the U.S.S.R. has repeatedly smashed the war plans of the fascist aggressors. Were the ruling power over this one-sixth of the globe not socialism, but capitalism, a second world war would have broken out long ago.

At the trial it was proved that the Trotskyite-Bukharinite bandits in concert with the fascist war-makers intended to seize power in the U.S.S.R. On the demand of their masters—the fascist rulers—they undertook to support the robber plans of the fascist aggressors. On the instructions of the fascist intelligence services the traitors to the socialist fatherland undertook espionage, disruptive, wrecking work with a view to facilitating a war of plunder against the Soviet Union and to bringing it to defeat, with a view to wresting entire republics away from the Soviet Union and establishing capitalism in the land of the Soviets.

Aware that the forces of the fascist aggressors were inadequate for the conduct of a war against the U.S.S.R., the Trotskyite-Bukharinite gang were interested in Japan securing victory over China, and in the Italian and German fascists crushing the Spanish people. They dreamt of Hitler Germany engulf-

* So-called Socialist Revolutionaries.—*Editor*

ing Austria. They were vitally interested in increasing the expansion of the "Third Empire" in Central, Eastern and Southern Europe.

In this light one can also understand the reason for the disruptive work of the Trotskyites in Spain, China, Austria, Czechoslovakia and all the other countries which are objects of fascist aggression. This work of the Trotskyites simply amounts to the employment of every possible means to paralyze the resistance of the popular masses to the fascist plunderers.

The Soviet people cut short the criminal designs and deeds of the Trotskyite-Bukharinite hirelings of the fascist war-makers. The exposure and crushing of the anti-Soviet bloc have rendered a tremendous service to the whole of peace-loving mankind. At the moment when German fascism was undertaking a military onslaught on, and the seizure of, Austria, a tremendous blow was dealt at it by the fact that its Trotskyite-Bukhariniate agents in the U.S.S.R. received the punishment they deserved.

* * *

It is not for nothing that the fascist pack raised a furious howl in their press in connection with the trial, for the henchmen of fascism were caught in the act, their positions destroyed, their "Fifth Column" wiped out. But what can be said of certain "democrats," aye "socialists" who join the fascist chorus and use the trial as an excuse to slander the U.S.S.R.? Yet it is precisely this trial that has exposed such a number of facts and such a comprehensive connection between these facts that one really needs to be full of malicious prejudice not to recognize that the Soviet court, by putting an end to the Trotskyite-fascist plotters, was protecting the interests of anti-fascists and friends of peace throughout the world.

The advocates of the cause of the exposed and convicted criminals declare that the accusations made against the Trotskyite-Bukharinite plotters are too monstrous and *therefore* improbable.

However, the mode of action of the Trotskyite-Bukharinite scoundrels will become quite understandable if we take a glance at their *motives*. It must not be forgotten that the aim of the Trotskyite agents of fascism was the restoration of capitalism in the U.S.S.R. It was with this end in view that they proposed to come to power, that they linked up with the fascist aggressors, with international reaction; it was with this end in view that they became spies, wreckers and murderers.

In the U.S.S.R. itself, the exploiting classes have been abolished. To restore capitalism from within the U.S.S.R. is absolutely impossible. But the U.S.S.R. does not live in a vacuum; it is surrounded by capitalist countries. And the class struggle between the world of socialism and the world of capitalism continues. The remnants of the hostile classes within the U.S.S.R. orientate themselves in their struggle against socialism on assistance from international capitalism, for they can only dream of the possibility of restoring capitalism in the U.S.S.R. by receiving help *from without*, with the aid of military intervention.

Comrade Stalin, in his reply to the Y.C.L. staff propagandist, Comrade Ivanov, pointed out the following regarding the danger of military intervention against the U.S.S.R.

"Indeed, it would be ridiculous and stupid to close our eyes to the capitalist encirclement and to think that our external enemies, the fascists, for example, will not, if the opportunity arises, make an attempt at a military attack upon the U.S.S.R. Only blind braggarts or masked enemies who desire to lull the vigilance of our people can think like that.

"No less ridiculous would it be to deny that in the event of the slightest success of military intervention, the interventionists would try to destroy the Soviet system in the districts they occupied and restore the bourgeois system.

"Did not Denikin and Kolchak restore the bourgeois system in the districts they occupied? Are the fascists any better than Denikin or Kolchak?

"Only blockheads or masked enemies who with their boastfulness want to conceal their hostility, and are striving to demobilize the people, can deny the danger of military intervention and attempts

at restoration as long as the capitalist encirclement exists."

The fact that the class enemy in their struggle against the land of socialism resort to all kinds of measures is something everybody can understand. Everybody is aware of the hatred felt for the Soviet Union by the German and Japanese fascists, who are absolutely open in the efforts at a military onslaught on the U.S.S.R. It is quite understandable that to this end they resort to the most monstrous measures in order to weaken the U.S.S.R. from within, that they employ all possible means in order to recruit their agents within the country, and that with their aid they organize espionage, wrecking and murder.

Latterly, fascism has provided numerous examples of what it is capable of in the sphere of undermining work, espionage, acts of diversion and murder, particularly in the countries that are immediately threatened by it, and which it is particularly important for it to "work on" from within. We have seen this in China, Spain and Austria. We have seen that the fascist aggressors have invariably succeeded in recruiting as their agents people who have been in very high positions, in organizing plots with their aid and, finally, in making an armed attack on the country in question. Is it not a fact that Franco opened the gates of Spain to the troops of Mussolini and Hitler? Is it not a fact that Seyss-Inquart opened the gates of Austria to the German Reichswehr? And there is no bourgeois-democratic country where more or less important posts are not held by plotters engaged in machinations with the intelligence services of the fascist powers. And the security of these countries would be far more certain were they to settle accounts with these fascist agents after the Soviet fashion.

When the advocates of the cause of the "Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites" became convinced that no right-minded person would believe that the fascists in preparing an attack on the U.S.S.R. would give up monstrous and foul methods of struggle, they began to question the criminally fascist character of the Right-Trotskyite plotters. They falsely asserted that these people were "old Bolsheviks," only "people with different opinions."

In actual fact, however, everybody is aware that the leading members of the Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites, while members of the Party, waged a furious struggle against it for many long years. In the very first period following the establishment of the Soviet power they waged a conspirative struggle against the Soviet power. Bukharin, for example, in 1918, in connection with the Brest-Litovsk Treaty, when the very existence of the Soviet power was at stake, organized a plot together with the Socialist-Revolutionaries against Lenin, Stalin, against the Soviet government. Trotsky also participated in this plot; his provocative behavior during the peace negotiations in Brest-Litovsk placed the U.S.S.R. in a very dangerous position.

And so, one can prove step by step that all the leaders of the Rights, Trotskyites and Zinovievites carried on a systematic struggle against the Bolshevik Party. And not on secondary questions, but on those, the correct solution of which, depended the further development of socialist construction in general, and even the very existence of the Soviet government.

And whatever the masks behind which the Rights and Trotskyites hid at various times, the main line of their platform was always directed toward concessions to the capitalist elements, to the endeavor—under their influence—to hinder socialist construction and to divert the Soviet Union from the path of socialism to that of capitalism.

Under the leadership of the Party of Lenin and Stalin, the working masses of the U.S.S.R. learned to recognize the counter-revolutionary nature of the Rights and Trotskyites. Possessed of no roots among the masses, rejected by the Soviet people, they remained a hopelessly isolated handful of people.

Around them there gradually concentrated all the remains of the crushed exploiting classes and their counter-revolutionary parties. Trotskyites, Rights, Zinovievites, Mensheviks, Socialist-Revolutionaries, bourgeois nationalists, agents

of the tsarist Okhrana, old spies, all of these gatherer together into one foul-smelling bunch. The Rights and Trotskyites became the banner-bearers of capitalist restoration, and on this basis they were at one with foreign fascism, adapting and completely applying its forms and methods of struggle against the land of socialism, namely, espionage, treason, wrecking, murder and plotting.

Comrade Stalin was absolutely correct when as far back as the Plenum of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U., held in February-March, 1937, he declared:

"A few words about wreckers, diversionists, spies, etc. It is now clear for all, I think, that the present-day wreckers and diversionists, no matter what flag they use to cover themselves, the Trotskyite or the Bukharin flag, have long since ceased to be a political trend in the working class movement, that they have turned into a gang of professional wreckers, diversionists, spies and murderers, devoid of principles and ideas. Of course, these gentlemen will have to be smashed and ruthlessly uprooted as enemies of the working class, as traitors to our country. This is clear and does not require further explanation."*

Aye, the Rights and Trotskyites became tools of the fascist aggressors, ready to undertake any crime against the land of socialism and against the international labor movement.

* * *

When the advocates of the cause of the Right-Trotskyite plotters prove to be incapable any longer of refuting the fact that these plotters were such mean, contemptible objects as their fascist masters, the most furious of them resort to the hypocritical statement: "Why, many of the accused occupied leading positions. If they were able to degenerate in such a way, does it not speak badly of the U.S.S.R.?"

Here we must first state that the Rights and Trotskyites never did determine the policy of the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet Union. On the contrary, the general line of the Party and the Soviet Union was always drawn up and operated in a struggle against them.

Many of them, it is true, occupied high posts, but this, by the way, only goes to prove that as long as the counter-revolutionary machinations of the Trotskyite-Bukharinite leaders were unknown, and one could presume that they were only "deviators," the Bolshevik Party, while carrying on a struggle against their policy, at the same time employed endless efforts in order to make them work honestly in responsible positions. Under the control of the Party and the working masses, they were compelled while at their posts in part to fulfil the tasks set them; but these people betrayed the confidence of the Party and the working class over and over again, and again descended to counter-revolution, to the level of espionage, diversion and murder.

In truth, under these circumstances it can only enter the heads of malicious hypocrites to throw the responsibility for the monstrous crimes of the Right-Trotskyite degenerates not on themselves, but on the Soviet Union against which they conducted a struggle.

* * *

Certain of the advocates of the Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites picture the circumstance that the accused admitted their guilt as a "strange" matter. They picture it as some sort of "puzzle." But in actual fact there is no puzzle here at all.

The Right-Trotskyite bandits only admitted the crimes proved against them, proved by facts, documents, confrontations, the testimony of witnesses and experts. If they repeatedly assured the court that they had honestly told the whole story and had made a clean breast of everything, they must not be believed for a single moment.

Let us call to mind the Zinoviev-Kamenev case. When they organized the murder of Comrade Kirov, Zinoviev wrote an obituary in which he thundered at the scoundrels who had perpetrated the murder. When the investigating authorities at a later period discovered the threads

* Joseph Stalin, *Mastering Bolshevism*, pp. 42-43, Workers Library Publishers, New York.

leading from the Leningrad murderers to Zinoviev and Co. and when the Trotsky-ite-Zinoviev gang were put in the dock, Zinoviev admitted that he bore "moral responsibility" for the murder of Kirov, but denied his own direct participation in the organization of this murder. Later, the investigating authorities continued their work and established the fact that the murder of Kirov and the preparation of new terrorist acts were organized by the united Zinoviev-Trotskyite Center. Then the criminals, under the weight of the evidence against them, admitted that they bore not only "moral responsibility" for this murder. And they vowed by all they held sacred that they were hiding nothing more now, that they had honestly told the whole truth.

Then it turned out that they had again been lying, that they had admitted only the charges preferred against them at the particular moment by the investigating authorities. They denied the monstrous crimes that were only discovered in 1937 at the January trial of Piatakov and Radek.

And the accused in the Piatakov and Radek case? They also vowed by all they held sacred that they had made an absolutely clean breast of everything. But the trial of the Right-Trotskyite Bloc shows that this was all a lie, that the accused in the Piatakov case hid many crimes, exposed and discovered in the course of further investigation.

So then, in relation to their admissions, the Right-Trotskyite criminals behaved just as ordinary criminals do, that is to say, they admitted the charges proved against them, but kept silent about what has not yet been discovered.

But what was really specific and characteristic of the behavior of these criminals who faced the court of the socialist state was the fact that they did not dare to defend their evil deeds.

The explanation for this is that they were absolutely *isolated* from the masses, and not only isolated, but hated to the point of loathing by the masses of the people.

How could they face the working masses of the great socialist country and defend their criminal plans, their acts of espionage and disruption, directed toward the provocation of war by the fascist aggressors against the Soviet Union?

How could they justify the murder of beloved leaders of the Soviet country, the murder of that supremely great writer Gorky, the murder of workers and Red Army men who perished in mine explosions and railway accidents?

How could they propose to the liberated peoples of the Soviet Union a return to the colonial yoke of imperialism?

How could they come before the working class and the collective farm peasants of the land of socialism and defend the return to capitalist exploitation and landlord oppression? How could they defend their counter-revolutionary fascist cause?

* * *

While the Soviet land is energetically purging itself of traitors, of scoundrels eager to restore capitalism, their associates and accomplices in the Second International take the liberty of reading the U.S.S.R. a "sermon." It is really the height of impudence for these hypocritical "moralists" who are well aware that a whole multitude of enemies surround the U.S.S.R., waiting a suitable moment, and designing ever new onslaughts on the land of the Soviets.

No defensive measures are too sharp in the struggle against these encroachments on the U.S.S.R., the buttress of the world proletariat.

Open and concealed enemies of socialism, advocates of the Right and Trotskyite agents of fascism, attempt to picture matters as though the trial of these bandits and their destruction means a weakening internally and externally of the political power of the U.S.S.R. Common sense tells everybody the exact opposite. It is clear that after purging the country of its internal enemies, the Soviet Union constitutes a still more powerful and invincible force.

It would be useful for other nations, too, to be just as resolute in their struggle against fascist violence as is the Soviet Union.

Let us take Spain, for example. Had the government of the Spanish Republic two years ago arrested a dozen or so of fascist generals and upset the plot of

these generals of Hitler and Mussolini, it is possible that the Spanish people would have been saved the present exhausting war. The weakness and vacillations of the former Republican government of Spain cost the Spanish people dearly!

Let us take Austria, for example. Had the Austrian people been able to deal in good time with the fascist hirelings of Berlin, Hitler would not have been able to lay his hands on Austria so easily. The cowardice and vacillation of the Austrian government led to the agents of the fascists opening the gates of Austria to Hitler's troops.

Or take the example of the French "Cagoulards." Every honest anti-fascist in France is convinced that this gang of plotters has been bought by the rulers in Berlin and Rome. Every honest democrat in France is aware that many highly placed people are involved in this plot. And every honest Frenchman feels that this plot may at a critical moment prove fatal for the country. Is it a sign of weakness or strength that they cannot make up their minds in France to bring to account the Cagoulards and their highly placed supporters within and without the country? Everybody understands that this is undoubtedly a great weakness.

Or take such a country as Czechoslovakia, which is the next object of attack by Hitler fascism in Central Europe, and is literally swarming with agents of the "Third Empire." Hitler possesses his legal agents there in the shape of the fascist Henlein Party. The representatives of this party hardly hide the fact that they are engaged in a plot with the "Third Empire" against Czechoslovakia, that the line they are pursuing is one for the liquidation of its independence. Everybody admits that it is a dangerous weakness that the leaders of this party can conduct their traitorous work with impunity.

No, such things are impossible in the U.S.S.R. precisely because the U.S.S.R. is strong and powerful, both inside the country, and outside it on the foreign political field. In the Soviet Union counter-revolutionary plotters, agents of the foreign enemies of the country, speedily break their necks. The Soviet Union will pay no heed to the protests and fury of the fascist powers, but will continue henceforth to wipe out their agents inside the land of socialism.

One should really wish every democratic country to display the same sort of consistency and purpose in the struggle against the fascist enemies of the people. Without this it is impossible effectively to defend the cause of liberty and the independence of the people, the cause of progress, civilization and world peace.

And those who in words picture themselves as opponents of fascism and war, but in deeds defend the Trotskyite agents of fascism, deceive the masses. They are wreckers of the movement of the working people for peace and the liberty of their people.

The Moscow trial of the Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites gave the working people of all countries a most certain criterion for distinguishing the camouflaged accomplices of the reactionary bourgeoisie from sincere friends of democracy and peace. The working masses everywhere must be made acquainted with the *facts* brought to light at this trial, so that they may be able in the light of these facts to judge the advocates of the Trotskyite-Bukharinite criminals and to pass their *own* sentence on the fascist plotters in their respective countries.

# The Verdict in the Trial of the "Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites"

IN THE name of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., consisting of:

President: Army Military Jurist, V. V. Ulrich, President of the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R.;

Members: Army Corps Military Jurist I. O. Matulevich, Vice-President of the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., and Divisional Military Jurist B. I. Yevlev, Member of the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R.;

Secretary: Military Jurist First Rank A. A. Batner, with the participation of the State Prosecutor, A. Y. Vyshinsky, Procurator of the U.S.S.R., and I. D. Braude and N. V. Kommodov, Members of the Moscow Collegium of Counsel for Defense, in an open court session, in the City of Moscow, on March 2-13, 1938, heard the case against:

1. Bukharin, Nikolai Ivanovich, born 1888;
2. Rykov, Alexei Ivanovich, born 1881;
3. Yagoda, Genrich Grigorievich, born 1891;
4. Krestinsky, Nikolai Nikolayevich, born 1883;
5. Radkovsky, Christian Georgievich, born 1873;
6. Rosengoltz, Orkady Pavlovich, born 1889;
7. Ivanov, Vladimir Ivanovich, born 1893;
8. Chernov, Mikhail Alexandrovich, born 1891;
9. Grinko, Grigori Fedorovich, born 1890;
10. Zelensky, Isaac Abramovich, born 1890;
11. Bessonov, Sergei Alexeyevich, born 1892;
12. Ikramov, Akmal, born 1898;
13. Khodjayev, Faizulla, born 1896;
14. Sharangovich, Vasily Fomich, born 1897;
15. Zubarev, Prokopy Timofeyevich, born 1886;
16. Bulanov, Pavel Petrovich, born 1895;
17. Levin, Lev Grigorievich, born 1870;
18. Pletnev, Dimtry Dmitrievich, born 1872;
19. Kazakov, Ignaty Nikolayevich, born 1891;
20. Maximov-Dikovsky, Benyamin Adamovich (Abramovich), born 1900, and
21. Kryuchkov, Pyoter Petrovich, born 1889

—all charged with having committed crimes covered by Articles $58^{(1a)}$, $58^{(2)}$, $58^{(7)}$, $58^{(8)}$, $58^{(9)}$, and $58^{(11)}$ of the Criminal Code of the R.S.F.S.R., and Ivanov, Zelensky and Zubarev, in addition, with having committed crimes covered by Article $58^{(13)}$ of the Criminal Code of the R.S.F.S.R.

*The preliminary and Court investigations have established:*

The accused Bukharin, Rykov, Yagoda, Krestinsky, Rosengoltz, Grinko, Sharangovich, Khodjayev, Ikramov, Ivanov, Zubarev, Zelensky and Chernov, being irreconcilable enemies of the Soviet power, on the instructions of the intelligence services of foreign states hostile to the U.S.S.R., in 1932-33, organized a conspiratorial group known as the "bloc of Rights and Trotskyites," which united

underground anti-Soviet groups of Trotskyites, Rights, Zinovievites, Mensheviks, Socialist-Revolutionaries and bourgeois-nationalists of the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan and the Central Asiatic Republics.

The "bloc of Rights and Trotskyites" set itself the aim of overthrowing the socialist social and state system existing in the U.S.S.R., restoring capitalism and the power of the bourgeoisie in the U.S.S.R., by means of diversive, wrecking, terrorist, espionage and treasonable activities directed to undermine the economic might and defensive power of the Soviet Union and to assist foreign aggressors in defeating and dismembering the U.S.S.R.

Bereft of all support within the U.S.S.R., the leaders of the "bloc of Rights and Trotskyites," with the object of carrying out their criminal designs, concluded through enemy of the people L. Trotsky and through individual participants in the anti-Soviet "bloc of Rights and Trotskyites," an agreement with representatives of certain foreign states on armed assistance in overthrowing the Soviet power in the U.S.S.R., on conditions of its dismemberment and the severance from the U.S.S.R. of the Ukraine, Byelorussia, the Maritime Region, and the Central Asiatic and Transcaucasian Republics for the benefit of the aforementioned foreign states.

The conclusion of this treasonable agreement of the "bloc of Rights and Trotskyites" with representatives of foreign states was facilitated by the fact that leading participants in the anti-Soviet conspiracy were direct agents of foreign intelligence services and for many years carried on espionage activities for these intelligence services.

Krestinsky, on the direct instructions of enemy of the people L. Trotsky, agent of the German and British intelligence services, entered into treasonable connections with the German Reichswehr in 1921 and was a German spy until the day of his arrest in 1937, receiving in return for his espionage work and for the use of the criminal activities of the Trotskyite organization 250,000 German gold marks per annum.

Rosengoltz began espionage work for the German General Staff in 1923 and for the British Intelligence Service in 1926.

Rakovsky was an agent of the British Intelligence Service since 1924 and a Japanese spy since 1934.

Chernov began his espionage work for Germany in 1928, having formed connections with the German Intelligence Service with the aid of the notorious Menshevik and émigré, Dan.

Sharangovich was recruited and sent by the Polish Intelligence Service to carry on espionage work in the U.S.S.R. in 1921 and was a Polish spy to the day of his arrest.

Grinko was a German and Polish spy since 1932.

On the instructions of enemy of the people L. Trotsky, and of leading participants in the "bloc of Rights and Trotskyites"—Bukharin, Rykov and Yagoda—members of the "bloc of Rights and Trotskyites," Rosengoltz, Krestinsky, Rakovsky, Grinko and Bessonov, with obviously treasonable purposes, entered into direct relations with representatives of foreign states hostile to the U.S.S.R., and negotiated with them regarding the forms of assistance to be given to foreign aggressors in the event of their attack upon the Soviet Union (organization of terrorist, diversive and wrecking acts and espionage).

The leaders of the "bloc of Rights and Trotskyites," Rykov, Bukharin and Yagoda among their number, were not only fully informed of the espionage activities of their accomplices, but in every way encouraged the extension of espionage connections, and themselves gave instructions to the participants in the "bloc of Rights and Trotskyites" when they conducted their treasonable negotiations with representatives of foreign states, thus expediting preparations for foreign intervention.

On the direct instructions of foreign intelligence services, the participants in the "bloc of Rights and Trotskyites" organized diversion and wrecking groups in a number of industrial, transport, agricultural and trading enterprises and carried on destructive activities, their

purpose being to paralyze the economic life of the country and to weaken the defensive power of the Soviet Union.

On the instructions of the Japanese intelligence service, participants in the "bloc of Rights and Trotskyites" organized in the Far Eastern Territory the wrecking of a train carrying military material at the Volochayevka Station and of train number 501 on the Khor-Dormidontovka section, and also committed several diversive acts in the Suchan mines. All these diversive acts were accompanied by loss of human life.

Rosengoltz, on the directions of enemy of the people L. Trotsky, and on the basis of an agreement with representatives of foreign states, carried on wrecking work within the People's Commissariat of Foreign Trade designed to assist Germany and Japan and accompanied by economic damage to the U.S.S.R. In addition, Rosengoltz systematically financed Trotsky by means of various foreign exchange operations.

Chernov, on the instructions of the German intelligence service and the orders of Rykov, took advantage of his important official position in the agricultural organs of the U.S.S.R. for the purpose of organizing, through his confederates, a number of major diversive and wrecking acts designed to lower the harvest yield of agricultural crops, damage mobilization reserves of agricultural produce and reduce the number of horses and cattle, in particular, by artificially spreading epizootic diseases, as a result of which about 25,000 horses perished in 1936 in Eastern Siberia alone.

Grinko, on the instructions of the leaders of the "bloc of Rights and Trotskyites," and the German intelligence service, systematically carried on extensive wrecking activities in the system of the People's Commissariat of Finance, with the object of causing dissatisfaction among the population and thereby making it easier to recruit his followers. This found expression in delays in payment of wages, bad service by the savings banks to the population, the unlawful levying of certain taxes on the peasants, and other wrecking measures.

Sharangovich, one of the leaders of the Byelorussian national-fascist organization, on the instructions of the organs of the Polish intelligence service and of leaders of the "bloc of Rights and Trotskyites"—Rykov and others—organized on a large scale diversive and wrecking activities in agriculture, stock-breeding and industry in Byelorussia, thereby facilitating the task of aggressors if they launched an armed attack on the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Ikramov and Khodjayev, on the instructions of Bukharin, developed extensive diversive and wrecking activities in the various branches of the national economy of Uzbekistan with the object of causing discontent among the population and thus creating favorable conditions for the preparation of armed actions against the Soviet power at the time of foreign intervention.

Zelensky organized wrecking groups in the Centrosoyuz and in the consumers' cooperatives, and with the help of these groups, with the object of causing discontent among the population, muddled the planning of goods, delayed their dispatch to the rural districts, caused damage to and decay of foodstuffs, mixed glass and nails into foodstuffs, and deliberately disorganized the supply of consumers' goods to the primary cooperative stores.

Ivanov, on the instructions of Bukharin, carried on wrecking and diversive activities in forestry and the timber industry of the Northern Territory.

Zubarev, an active participant in the underground organization of the Right, on the instructions of Rykov carried on wrecking activities in agriculture in a number of regions of the R.S.F.S.R.

In addition to intensive diversive and wrecking activities, the participants in the "bloc of Rights and Trotskyites," on the instructions of the German, Japanese and Polish intelligence services, under the direct guidance of Rykov and Bukharin and with the active participation of Ivanov, Khodajev, Ikramov, Zubarev, Sharangovich, Grinko and Zelensky, mustered bandit insurrectionary kulak cadres in Siberia, the North Caucasus, the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Uzbekistan and a

number of other parts of the Soviet Union for the purpose of organizing armed actions in the rear of the Red Army, timed for the beginning of intervention against the Soviet Union.

In order to extend the bandit insurrectionary kulak base, and in accordance with a decision of the leaders of the "bloc of Rights and Trotskyites," Bukharin established organizational connections with the underground Central Committee of the Socialist-Revolutionary organization then active in the U.S.S.R., as well as with the Central Committee of the Socialist-Revolutionaries abroad.

In accordance with a direct agreement with foreign intelligence services, and on the instructions of enemy of the people L. Trotsky, the "bloc of Rights and Trotskyites" organized a number of terrorist acts against the leaders of the C.P.S.U. (Bolsheviks) and the Soviet government.

In 1934, Rykov, one of the leading participants in the "bloc of Rights and Trotskyites," personally formed a terrorist group for the preparation and commission of terrorist acts against Comrades Stalin, Molotov, Kaganovich and Voroshilov.

In August, 1937, Rosengoltz personally attempted to commit a terrorist act against Comrade Stalin, for which purpose he repeatedly tried to secure an interview with him.

As the preliminary investigation and the Court proceedings in the present case have established, the dastardly assassination of S. M. Kirov on December 1, 1934, by the Leningrad Trotskyite-Zinovievite terrorist center was organized in accordance with a decision of the "bloc of Rights and Trotskyites." A direct part in the organization of this terrorist act was taken by the accused Yagoda, who gave special instructions to his accomplices working in the Leningrad Administration of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs not to hinder the perpetration of this crime.

On the instructions of enemy of the people L. Trotsky, the leaders of the "bloc of Rights and Trotskyites" in 1934 adopted a decision to assassinate the great proletarian writer, Maxim Gorky. The organization of this monstrous terrorist act was entrusted to Yagoda, who initiated Dr. Levin, M. Gorky's family doctor, and the physician Pletnev into the purposes of the conspiracy and instructed them to bring about the death of M. Gorky by wrecking methods of treatment, which was done—Dr. Levin having played the leading part in this criminal act. An active part in this villainous deed was taken by Kryuchkov, former secretary of M. Gorky, and Bulanov, former secretary of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, participants in the "bloc of Rights and Trotskyites."

In accordance with a decision of the leaders of the "bloc of Rights and Trotskyites," Yagoda, by means of wrecking methods of treatment, organized the murder of V. R. Menzhinsky, Chairman of the O.G.P.U., and of V. V. Kuibyshev, Vice-Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. A direct part in the perpetration of the terrorist act against Comrade Kuibyshev was taken by Levin and Maximov-Dikovsky, former secretary of Kuibyshev and a participant in the secret organization of the Rights since 1928; while a direct part in the perpetration of the terrorist act against V. R. Menzhinsky was taken by Bulanov and by the physician Kazakov, who had been enlisted in the conspiratorial group by Yagoda and Levin.

It has further been established that Levin and Kryuchkov, on the direct instructions of Yagoda, caused the death of M. A. Peshkov, the son of A. M. Gorky, by means of wrecking methods of treatment.

In connection with the appointment in September, 1936, of Comrade N. I. Yezhov to the post of People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the U.S.S.R., the "bloc of Rights and Trotskyites," fearing the complete exposure and rout of the anti-Soviet cadres, instructed Yagoda to commit a terrorist act against Comrade N. I. Yezhov.

In pursuance of these dastardly instructions, Yagoda, with the direct assistance of Bulanov, in the autumn of 1936, made an attempt upon the life of Comrade N. I. Yezhov, gradually poison-

ing him by means of a poison specially prepared for the purpose, as a result of which the health of N. I. Yezhov was seriously impaired.

It has been further established that in accordance with a decision of the anti-Soviet organization of the Rights, Bukharin, as early as 1930, arranged with Semyonov, a Socialist-Revolutionary terrorist, organizer of the assassination of Comrade Volodarsky and the attempt on the life of V. I. Lenin in 1918, for the formation by Semyonov of a number of terrorist groups with the object of preparing and committing terrorist acts against leaders of the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet government.

It has also been established that in 1918 Bukharin, and the group of "Left Communists" headed by him, in conjunction with Trotsky and the "Left" Socialist-Revolutionaries, hatched a plot against the Soviet government.

The aim of Bukharin and his fellow-conspirators was to thwart the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, to overthrow the Soviet government, to arrest and assassinate V. I. Lenin, J. V. Stalin and J. M. Sverdlov and to form a new government consisting of Bukharinites, Trotskyites and "Left" Socialist-Revolutionaries.

In executing the plan of the conspiracy, the "Left" Socialist-Revolutionaries in July, 1918, with the knowledge and consent of Bukharin, raised a revolt in Moscow with the object of overthrowing the Soviet government; it has been further established that the attempt on the life of V. I. Lenin committed by the Socialist-Revolutionary Kaplan on August 30, 1918, was the direct result of the criminal designs of the "Left Communists," headed by Bukharin, and their confederates, the "Left" and Right Socialist-Revolutionaries.

The preliminary and Court investigations have established the fact that Zelensky, Ivanov and Zubarev, accused in the present case, had already entered the path of struggle against the revolutionary movement of the working class in the days of tsardom.

Zelensky was an agent-provocateur employed by the Samara gendarmerie headquarters from 1911 to 1913.

Ivanov was an agent-provocateur in the city of Kotelnich in 1908, engaged in provocateur activities until 1917.

Thus, the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. has established the guilt of (1) N. I. Bukharin, (2) A. I. Rykov, (3) G. G. Yagoda, (4) N. N. Krestinsky, (5) C. G. Rakovsky, (6) A. P. Rozengoltz, (7) V. I. Ivanov, (8) M. A. Chernov, (9) G. F. Grinko, (10) I. A. Zelensky, (11) S. A. Bessonov, (12) A. Ikramov, (13) F. Khodjayev, (14) V. F. Sharangovich, (15) P. T. Zubarev, (16) P. P. Bulanov, (17) L. G. Levin, (18) D. D. Pletnev, (19) I. N. Kazakov, (20) V. A. Maximov-Dikovsky and (21) P. P. Kryuchkov, in that, being active participants in a conspiratorial group known as the "bloc of Rights and Trotskyites," which acted under the direct instructions of the intelligence services of foreign states, they carried on treasonable, espionage, diversive, wrecking and terrorist activities, provoking an armed attack by these states on the U.S.S.R. with the purpose of bringing about the defeat and dismemberment of the Soviet Union and the severance from it of the Ukraine, Byelorussia, the Central Asiatic republics, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, and the Maritime Region in the Far East for benefit of foreign states hostile to the U.S.S.R., their ultimate aim being the overthrow of the socialist social and state system existing in the U.S.S.R. and the restoration of capitalism and of the power of the bourgeoisie in the U.S.S.R., *i.e.*, of having committed extremely grave state offences covered by Articles 58(1a), 58(2), 58(7), 58(8), 58(9), and 58(11) of the Criminal Code of the R.S.F.S.R., and Ivanov, Zelensky and Zubarev, in addition, of having committed crimes covered by Article 58(13) of the Criminal Code of the R.S.F.S.R.

On the basis of the aforesaid, and guided by Articles 319 and 320 of the Code of Criminal Procedure of the R.S.F.S.R., *the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. sentences*:

1. Bukharin, Nikolai Ivanovich,
2. Rykov, Alexei Ivanovich.
3 Yagoda, Genrich Grigorievich,

4. Krestinsky, Nikolai Nikolayevich,
5. Rosengoltz, Arkady Pavlovich,
6. Ivanov, Vladimir Ivanovich,
7. Chernov, Mikhail Alexandrovich,
8. Grinko, Grigori Fedorovich,
9. Zelensky, Isaac Abramovich,
10. Ikramov, Akmal,
11. Khodjayev, Faizulla,
12. Sharangovich, Vasily Fomich,
13. Zubarev, Prokopy Timofeyevich,
14. Bulanov, Pavel Petrovich,
15. Levin, Lev Grigorievich,
16. Kazakov, Ignaty Nikolayevich,
17. Maximov-Dikovsky, Benyamin Adamovich (Abramovich), and
18. Kryuchkov, Pyotr Petrovich

to the supreme penalty—to be shot, with the confiscation of all their personal property.

19. Pletnev, Dmitry Dmitrievich, as not having directly taken an active part in the causing of death of Comrades V. V. Kuibyshev and A. M. Gorky, although he was an accessory to this crime —to imprisonment for the term of twenty five years, with deprivation of political rights for a period of five years after expiration of his prison term and with the confiscation of all his personal property.

20. Rakovsky, Christian Georgievich, and

21. Bessonov, Sergei Alexeyevich, as not having taken a direct part in the organization of terrorist, diversive and wrecking activities—to imprisonment: Rakovsky for the term of twenty years and Bessonov for the term of fifteen years, each with deprivation of political rights for a period of five years after expiration of his prison term and with the confiscation of all his personal property.

The terms of imprisonment of Pletnev, Rakovsky and Bessonov shall be counted from the day of their arrest.

(*Signed*) President: V. Ulrich,
Army Military Jurist
*President of the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R.*

Members of the Court:

(*Signed*) I. Matulevich
Army Corps Military Jurist
*Vice-President of the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R.*

B. Yevlev
Divisional Military Jurist
*Member of the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R.*

# The Army of the Land of Socialism

BY O. KUUSINEN

### THE BIRTH OF THE WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' RED ARMY

AS SOON as the Russian proletariat, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, had overthrown the power of the landlords and capitalists, the Bolsheviks took a stand in defense of the fatherland, and Lenin demanded the establishment of a *"mighty socialist army."* This was a task of vital necessity, because the socialist state, surrounded as it was by hostile imperialist robber powers, could not defend itself in any other way from the attacks of the military forces of its enemies at home and abroad. At the same time, however, Lenin knew that this necessary task was very difficult of fulfilment and could not be achieved at once. In his book, *The Proletarian Revolution and Renegade Kautsky*, Lenin wrote:

"In rising to power the new social class never could, and cannot now, attain power or consolidate it except by absolutely disintegrating the old army ('disorganization!' the reactionary or cowardly philistines will howl), except by passing through a most difficult and painful period without any army (as was the case also during the French Revolution) and by gradually building up in the midst of the civil war a new army, a new discipline, a new military organization of the new class."*

It was precisely in that way that the army of the Soviet Union, the Workers' and Peasants' Army, was established. The process of the organization of this army had only begun and was far from having been completed, when the enemies of the Soviet power—White Guard forces and the regular troops of a number of foreign states—began to attack from all sides. The Germans seized the Ukraine, the Czechoslovaks part of the Volga Region, the Urals and Siberia, the Japanese advanced from Vladivostok, and the British seized the White Sea coastline and Baku, etc. It was only then that a real beginning was made in the organization of the Red Army locally, at the various fronts of the struggle against the internal counter-revolution and the foreign forces of intervention.

At the head of all in this heroic work was Comrade Stalin. From June, 1918, onwards, he directed revolutionary-military activities at Tsaritsyn, later at Perm, at Petrograd against Yudenich, on the Southern Front against Denikin and Wrangel, in the Ukraine against the White Guard Polish forces, and at other places. The Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party always sent him to the battlefront where the danger was greatest. And everywhere he speedily introduced discipline at the front and revolutionary order behind the lines. In the shortest possible time he organized efficient fighting regiments, brigades and divisions of the regular army, often entirely reorganizing the military and political leadership. With supreme talent he drew up strategical and tactical decisions that led to renowned victories.

Outstanding revolutionary military

* V. I. Lenin, *The Proletarian Revolution and Renegade Kautsky*, p. 64. International Publishers, New York.

leaders—Frunze, Voroshilov, Budyenny, Blücher, and others—took part together with Stalin in establishing the Red Army and in organizing its victories at the various fronts. Great successes were also achieved at the civil war fronts by such never-to-be-forgetten Bolshevik leaders as Dzerzhinsky, Kirov, Orjonikidze and Kuibyshev.

Thus it was that, in carrying into life the will of the Bolshevik Party, Stalin and his best associates, with the help of 300,000 intrepid Communists—rank-and-file fighters, political commissars and commanders—fighting at the fronts, created the first socialist army in the world in the fire of fierce, uninterrupted struggle. It was created despite incredible difficulties, even in face of numerous cases of treachery on the part of military "experts" at the fronts, in a constant struggle against spies and diversionists and against the resistance—governed by wrecking considerations—of the Trotskyite-Bukharinite traitors.

By 1920 all the armed forces of the White Guard generals, Socialist Revolutionaries and Mensheviks were crushed and almost all the troops of the imperialist powers engaged in intervention were driven out of the land of the Soviets (the Japanese were the last to leave in 1922). Born in the flames of battle, the young Red Army proved to be an army of valiant victors.

The world has not yet seen such an army. Prior to the October Revolution the international proletariat knew of no other armies than the militarist and imperialist armies that defend the rule of the exploiting classes. Many could not even imagine the possibility of any other army existing. But in the Red Army they found an army new *in principle*, an army that defended the rule of the *working class*, the interests of the *working people* against the exploiting classes, an *anti-militarist* army, an army that did not pursue any robber or imperialist aims, but fought for *peace and freedom among the nations*. It is not surprising therefore that the workers of all lands wish to know about this army as they know of their closest friends and comrades in struggle.

### A COUNTRY THAT CAN SUPPLY ITS ARMY WITH ALL THAT IS NECESSARY FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE FATHERLAND

The Soviet government proposed universal disarmament on numerous occasions in the League of Nations. But all the capitalist governments turned down these proposals, and proposals regarding the reduction of armaments. All of them without exception, especially the fascist instigators of war, are feverishly arming themselves. Under such circumstances only enemies of the Soviet people would want the Soviet people to show no concern about perfecting the technical equipment of their Red Army.

While not considering the technical equipment of an army to be the *decisive* factor in the defense of the country, the Bolsheviks, however, never underestimated the importance of this factor. In contemporary wars, as is well known, the *mechanization* (and possibly chemicalization) of war plays an incomparably more important role than in the last World War. All imperialist armies have taken this into account, and have been brought up to date. And if a people attacked by an imperialist aggressor lags behind in the technical equipment of its army to the extent, for example, that Ethiopia did, when, at the time it was attacked, it did not possess a single military 'plane or anti-aircraft gun, then the bravery of the defending army cannot save the country.

Fascist troops equipped with up-to-date armament can transform war into a one-sided mass bloodbath. The strong, not the weak, side of fascist armies is their armaments (we shall deal with their weaknesses later). And especially at the present time, when the fascist aggressors, armed as they are to the teeth, menace the existence of all nations that lag behind in the development of their defense power, no single sincere friend of the Soviet Union and of world peace can fail to see how important and necessary it was for the Soviet government to be timely in supplying the Red Army with the technical resources requisite to repulse the attacks of any enemy, no matter how well armed.

Ten years ago the technical equipment of the Red Army was on a considerably lower level than that of the strongest imperialist armies. And all our enemies were convinced at that time that in this regard the young land of the Soviets would be unable to compare favorably with the high level of the armed forces of the old capitalist states. But what resulted? What is the state of affairs now?

Four years ago already, Comrade Voroshilov in his statement on the preliminary results of the mechanization of the Red Army said:

"In 1929 the average mechanical h.p. per man throughout the whole Workers' and Peasants' Red Army was 2.6. In 1930 this figure grew to 3.07 and in 1934 to 7.74. *This is considerably higher than in the French and American armies, higher even than in the British Army, which is the most highly mechanized.*"

Since then the level of the technical equipment of the Red Army has grown still further. Its armored car and tank units are equipped with the best high-speed tanks in the world, and as regards the number of machine guns and artillery they have surpassed the mechanized detachments of capitalist armies. The Red Army possesses first class artillery. Its infantry divisions are, in all respects, the best in the world.* The navy of the U.S.S.R. has also begun to "grow as becomes the great Soviet state." (Molotov.)

The air forces of the U.S.S.R. grew fourfold between 1932 and 1936 and have become the *strongest in the world.* The qualitative level and high achievements of Soviet aviation are shown by the numerous international records won by the Soviet airmen trained in the ranks of the Red Army, and by the brilliant flights performed by Chkalov, Gromov, the Polar flyers, etc.

This means that it has been possible in this sphere as well to catch up to and surpass capitalist countries.

"From a weak country unprepared for defense," said Comrade Stalin, "the Soviet Union has become transformed into a country mighty in the sense of its ability to defend itself, into a country . . . capable of producing on a mass scale all up-to-date weapons of defense and of supplying its army with them in case of attack."

Because of its economic backwardness old tsarist Russia also had a backward army, which was dependent for its supplies on other, more advanced countries. During the war the tsarist army imported 87 per cent of its motor trucks, 100 per cent of its light automobiles, 100 per cent of its caterpillar tractors, 72 per cent of its artillery, 75 per cent of its shells, 60 per cent of its cartridges, 60 per cent of its rifles, etc.* What would have happened to the Red Army had it depended to the same degree on imported supplies? For can one, in case of war, depend on the possibility of importing necessary supplies from other countries? Certainly not. The Soviet Union must have and now has a technical and industrial basis completely adequate for its defense.

The exceptional strategic importance for a country during war of an independent and self-sufficing economy is so obvious that it would be surprising if the rulers of the fascist states who stake all their hopes on war did not try to achieve economic autarchy even in peace time. But a capitalist country cannot possess a self-supporting economy. Since it is impossible for it to get along without exports it inevitably remains dependent on imports as well, and attempts to limit this dependence undermine the economic system of the country. The fascist leaders proclaim their efforts to harness the entire economic mechanism of the country to the chariot-wheel of war to be "planned economy." But the outcome of Goering's Four-Year Plan has shown everybody in the most glaring way that fascist "planned economy," where it is not merely demagogic publicity, has the objective influence on Germany's economic life not of planned

* Data taken from article by P. Barbarinsky, published in *Propagandist*, journal of the Moscow Committee of the C.P.S.U., No. 21, 1937.

* *Ibid.*

construction, but of planned wrecking. The "guns instead of butter" program has in practice become a program of "guns instead of bread" (as far as the masses of the population are concerned) and more than that, even the machinery belonging to manufacturers remain without oil, with the exception of the munition manufacturers who have put on much weight.

There is not nor can there be planned economy except on the basis of the socialist system, which does not depend on foreign markets because of the unlimited possibilities of extending the home market. Only the U.S.S.R., based on socialist planning, is in a position to utilize all the resources of the national economy in a planned manner and to take full account of the interests of defense without adversely affecting the general economic development of the country. As far back as 1936, the U.S.S.R. occupied first place in Europe in total industrial output, and there is no country in the world that can catch up with the U.S.S.R. in the speed of the development of industry and agriculture.

It is clear what this advantage will mean in case of war, for in modern wars every branch of the national economy is of great importance for defense. "War is the test of all the economic and organizational forces of each nation," said Lenin.

The experience of the world imperialist war has shown that wars in modern times cause an acute shortage not only of foodstuffs, but also of metals (pig iron, steel, non-ferrous metals), coal, oil, electricity, chemicals, etc., as well as a shortage of all means of transport. Soviet heavy industry can supply pig iron, steel, non-ferrous metals, coal and oil in quantities adequate for the defense of the country. The tremendous growth of the various branches of the engineering industry, of the output of electricity, and of the chemical industry, etc., in the Soviet Union, also corresponds to the requirements of the country in respect to defense.

During the last decade tens of thousands of kilometers of new railways have been built in the U.S.S.R. and a powerful automobile industry set up with an output already of 220,000 motor cars per annum (1937).

In respect to agricultural output, the U.S.S.R. occupies first place in the world. And what is more important, with the victory of the collective farm system, agriculture in the U.S.S.R. is conducted on the largest scale in the world. The number of tractors (400,000 in 1937), combines (100,000) and other machines in the Soviet countryside guarantees the uninterrupted conduct of agricultural work in wartime as well. In the old days, the mobilization of men and horses immediately undermined the forces of agriculture, but now, the complete possibility is assured of supplying both the country and the army with bread and other food products.

Thus, the great land of socialism can supply its army with all that is necessary for the defense of the fatherland and crush any enemy who dares to attack it.

This constitutes one of the pre-conditions of the invincible might of the Red Army.

### UNITY OF THE PEOPLE AND THE ARMY

"With us," says Comrade Stalin, ". . . the people and the army make one whole."

This is a tremendous advantage in the work of defending the country. This means that the army not only has a reliable country behind it, but also a country that actively supports it. The rear of any army is the entire people, and an army that is supported by the entire people is capable of unprecedented feats of heroism. Such an army can increase its numerical strength at any moment and on any scale, and thus increase its fighting capacity. Such an army is invincible.

The position is different in capitalist countries. There the army and the people stand *opposed* to each other. An entire abyss divides them. And of course it is not a matter that governments and generals do not understand the tremendous strategic importance of unity between the army and the people. No, they understand this perfectly well, but have other

things to think about. For them the army is merely a weapon of domination over the people, a weapon for oppressing the working masses. The masses of people in capitalist countries feel (even when they don't clearly realize the fact) that the army serves aims which are alien to them—the class interests of their exploiters, the capitalists and landlords. They feel that the army is a danger to them and that is why they avoid and fear it. The government, on its part, is afraid of the working classes exerting political influence over the army. The government does everything possible to isolate the army from the people in order that the soldiers may not become "infected" with the spirit of class solidarity and refuse to fire on their class brothers.

The fascist governments go even further. Along with the insolent robbery they practise on other peoples, they give the army the function of constantly terrorizing the people of their own country. The army, by its bestial violence, has to imbue the masses of people with horror. This is a fascist principle. And although the fascist bosses know that terror prompts not only horror, but also *hatred* among the masses of people, they follow the example of the ancient tyrants and console themselves with the thought: "Let them hate as long as they are afraid." It stands to reason that the fascists cannot otherwise cope with the people, but it is not difficult to visualize the situation that this creates in the rear of the fascist army.

It is an altogether different principle that guides the Red Army. By each of its actions it strives to consolidate the *love* of the masses of people towards it. And the people love it. "With us the army is loved, it is respected, care is shown for it," says Comrade Stalin, because it is an army not alien to the people, but "their own army, that serves not the masters, but former slaves, the now liberated workers and peasants."

Red Army men, airmen, frontier guards of the Soviet Union, no matter where they are stationed, always meet with the complete readiness of the people to help them in the fulfilment of their military tasks. They, on their part, constantly help the peasants both in their work and cultural activities.

With the liquidation of the exploiting classes, the peoples of the U.S.S.R. constitute a united harmonious family, no longer harrowed and torn by class enmity. Among the peoples of the U.S.S.R. there are no oppressed or oppressing nations, and therefore there are no grounds for a struggle between the nationalities. The nationalities, taken individually and together, have tremendous achievements which they protect. The elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. have brough out the point most clearly that the entire Soviet people stand closely united around their Soviet government and the Party of Lenin and Stalin.

Thus, it is comprehensible why the Soviet government and the Bolshevik Party do not isolate the Red Army from close contact with the people, but on the contrary, teach it to depend upon the support of the people. The inexhaustible source of the strength of the Red Army is in the love and support of the 170,000,000 people imbued with an ardent feeling of Soviet patriotism.

### A UNITED CONSCIOUS ARMY

The Red Army is a united whole by its very class composition. It consists exclusively of workers, peasants and other elements of the working people. The commanding staff of the Red Army consists almost entirely of cadres drawn from among the workers and peasants—of highly skilled commanders and technical specialists. A lively spirit of comradeship unites the Red Army men and their commanders.

The armies of capitalist countries are split by a deep-rooted class contradiction: The overwhelming majority of the soldiers are drawn from young proletarians and young working people generally, while the officers come from the exploiting classes and partly from the intermediary strata closely associated with them. This class contradiction in itself predetermines the existence of a gulf and antagonism between the mass of soldiers and the officers. But besides this, the officers themselves as a rule do

everything possible to widen this gulf. No other privileged section of society so crudely displays its traditional caste superciliousness as do officers, particularly before soldiers. In their contempt for the ordinary soldiers (and even for non-commissioned officers), the officers do everything possible to humiliate them by insisting on medieval ceremonies, etc.

Connected with this is the character of *military discipline* in the armies of capitalist countries, as well as the methods of instilling this discipline. What is demanded above all is blind obedience. The soldier must carry out orders like a machine, without giving any thought to their object and purpose. In order to imbue the soldier with this blind discipline a system of rough compulsion and heartless barrack-room discipline is employed.

It is clear that the aim of this system is to transform the young workers and peasants who have donned soldiers' uniforms into a blind weapon in the hands of the army chiefs to be used for the rapacious aims of the ruling bourgeoisie. Kaiser Wilhelm II in his day once stated openly and brazenly in a notorious speech: "You must be ready to shoot at your fathers and mothers!"

Even the fascist rulers do not always speak so openly, but everybody knows that in Germany, as in other fascist countries, the system of compulsion in the army is severer now than during the days of Kaiser Wilhelm. The fascists have raised the regime of the bludgeon to the "principle" of imbuing the soldiers with blind discipline. With the aid of the sergeant-major, the officers have so to imbue the soldiers with fear that during battle *they fear their officers more than the enemy.* Such is the fascist principle. It is clear why this is done. It is done so as to ensure that the soldier of the fascist army who hates his officers shall not dare to rise up in revolt during wartime or to cross the front and give himself up. The fascists are afraid of their soldiers. They know they cannot trust them. That is the kind of "discipline" that the fascist bludgeon-regime leads to!

How far from this, and how *far above* this is the discipline and the entire life of the rank and file and the commanders of the Red Army!

Yes, discipline reigns in the Red Army, but it is a military and not a blind discipline. In the entire work of the Red Army the emphasis is laid on imbuing men with a discipline that is strict, exact and absolutely precise, but is not blind or the result of the bludgeon. The discipline of the Red Army man is a *conscious* discipline. It is based on the *political consciousness* of every man and commander, on Soviet patriotism, on the mastery of the foundations of Marxism-Leninism, on the understanding of the tasks of the Soviet Power, the Communist Party and the Red Army.

Only such a socialist discipline withstands all tests. It presumes ideological unity, mutual trust and comradely collaboration between the men and the commanders. It does not exclude but presupposes an intelligent understanding of the aim of each task fulfilled and of the purposefulness of each order. It does not kill, but encourages each rank-and-file fighter to display initiative, to learn to find his own bearings and to display resourcefulness. That is why conscious, socialist discipline is invaluable.

The Red Army is essentially based on the political consciousness of its men and commanders. Whereas bourgeois armies are deprived of political rights, and soldiers are strictly barred from any participation whatsoever in the political life of the country, the Red Army men and their commanders enjoy the right to participate in the elections and to be elected on equal terms with other citizens of the U.S.S.R. Side by side with his military training, every Red Army man receives systematic political training at courses and meetings. There are special political leaders for this work in the units of the Red Army.

More than half of the entire personnel of the Red Army are members of the Communist Party or Young Communist League. In all Red Army units there is a Communist Party unit, and side by side with it a Young Communist League unit. *The Party organization of the Red Army* is among the most firmly welded organ-

izations of the C.P.S.U. The Party unit guides the entire political life of each section of the Red Army and Fleet, while at the same time taking an active part in ensuring its proper military training.

If a given unit lags behind in one sphere or other of military training, the question is subjected to discussion and self-criticism by the Party and Komsomol organizations; it is written about in wall newspapers (all units of the Red Army and Navy have them), the non-Party men are also drawn into the discussion, and criticism is leveled regardless of position or personality, and at the same time the spirit of emulation is developed and there is a general improvement in the work. Thus the Communist Party organization in the Red Army fulfills the highest of functions there: it is its central nerve system.

Apart from purely political training, the Soviet youth in the Red Army receive wide possibilities of improving their *general education*, and also of achieving professional skill. Whereas in the capitalist countries, the young worker frequently unlearns his profession during the years of his service in the army, in the Soviet Union, on the contrary, peasant lads return from the Red Army to their native villages as qualified tractor drivers, chauffeurs, electricians, etc.

Very well stocked libraries are at the disposal of the Red Army men (20,000,000 volumes and numerous pamphlets). Outstanding men of science, professors and university lecturers are regular and welcome guests in the barracks of different garrisons. Thousands of so-called "Lenin" corners (small clubrooms), schools, clubs and Houses of the Red Army, theaters, cinemas, radio, etc., have been built to raise the level of culture of the personnel of the Red Army. There is a rapid increase in the number of amateur art circles of Red Army men.

This is how the Red Army trains its men into educated people possessed of ideals. It is a *comprehensive school* for them, and the men are thankful to it for what it gives to them. They are supremely devoted to the cause of Lenin-Stalin.

It is not surprising that such an army is united, firmly welded together, knows its military work and knows "where to go and what to fight for." (Stalin.)

### AN INVINCIBLE AND HEROIC ARMY

Invincible is the army whose men are capable of acts of heroism.

What inspires the heroism of the rank-and-file commanders of the Red Army, of its airmen, Red sailors and glorious border guards? The consciousness of the greatness of the cause for which the Red Army is fighting.

Not so long ago, Comrade Budyenny gave a precise description of the birth of heroism under the influence of the Great October Revolution:

"In 1917 already and in the subsequent years of the civil war, the cause of Lenin-Stalin achieved miracles with people. The very same soldiers who frequently fled from battle since they had no wish to fight, became heroes when the revolution led them along under its banners, when the people began to fight for their cause, their land, their future, when the army became Red."

In the civil war the

". . . poorly armed, half starved poorly clothed workers and peasants, strong however in spirit, ideals and revolutionary enthusiasm, smashed through the steel ring that surrounded Moscow, and hurled back the horde of White Guards and interventionists in the North, South, East and West. It seemed that the *people were reborn*. Qualities made their appearance among them, which are decisive in military affairs—initiative, daring, courage—the very qualities with which the Red Army of today, which is thousands of times more powerful, is endowed."

Heroism is impossible where it is demanded of soldiers that they fight for aims alien to them. In the imperialist countries, the military leaders cannot say to the soldiers: "You, sons of the working people, we shall lead you into battle for your own cause." On the contrary, it is important for them that the soldier not think at all about the cause for which he is fighting. Therefore they do not think of the heroism of the soldiers.

They, the generals of the imperialist powers, are concerned with an absolutely different problem. The important thing for them is to deal with the question as to how to guard the army against "dangerous thoughts"—revolutionary, pacifist, and democratic.

The fascist-minded generals in the lands of bourgeois democracy are occupied with the problem of how to get the army to unlearn the traditional belief that it protects the parliamentary constitution of the country, since this liberal view hinders them from bringing the army out against parliament when a suitable occasion arises. They are troubled by the question as to how to prevent desertion at the front or panic in the face of big difficulties during war time.

What specially torments the generals of the fascist armies is the problem as to how to avoid a long drawn-out war. A long drawn-out war is a menacing danger to the fascist army by reason of the unreliability of the soldiers and of the masses of the people in the rear. But *how* can one carry through such a "lightning-like" and crushing attack as to render it impossible for any single country to defend itself against this blow? How is this to be done when the countries subjected to attack are already forewarned and are on their guard? To attempt to carry through aggression by the forces of a comparatively small mechanized army, consisting of the most reliable people? Or to prepare a huge army for this purpose to drive its unreliable masses into battle by the employment of furious terror?

These are the insoluble problems and cares that trouble the fascist generals. They cannot be bothered with problems of heroism. *They are terribly afraid of their armed people, but they cannot help arming the people.* Herein lies their inevitable weakness and ruin.

You cannot make heroes with the cudgel. The chauvinistic incitement to hatred of other peoples is, however, a dangerous weapon in the hands of fascism, and a persistent struggle must be waged to render it harmless. But the fascist incitement to the conquest of the lands of other peoples cannot fill the soldiers with enthusiasm and the spirit of self-sacrifice. There is not a trace of enthusiasm in the Japanese army in China, but there is enthusiasm in the ranks of the Chinese People's Army engaged in defending their country against the onslaught of the Japanese imperialists.

There is much enthusiasm in the ranks of the people's army of the Spanish Republic fighting for the liberty and independence of their people, but there is no trace of heroism among the troops of German and Italian fascism fighting in Spain. It cannot be otherwise. War for purposes of conquest—a brigand adventure—cannot fill anybody with enthusiasm for great acts of heroism. The fascist bandit is capable of brutality, but not of heroism.

Heroism presupposes *ideological inspiration.* The heroism of the commanders and rank and file of the Red Army is supported and raised aloft on the wings of *Soviet, socialist patriotism.* This is patriotism of a special kind. It does not nourish or tolerate hatred of other peoples. On the contrary, it is bound up dissolubly with *internationalism.*

This is the spirit that penetrates the Red Army.

"The Red Army," Comrade Stalin stated, "has been trained from the very first day of its existence in the spirit of internationalism, in the spirit of respect for other peoples, in the spirit of love and respect for the workers of all countries, in the spirit of the maintenance and establishment of peace between countries."

The Red Army is on guard over the socialist fatherland of the working people of the U.S.S.R., but its men and commanders know that the Red Army is also on guard over *world peace.*

The men of the Red Army are prepared to give their lives in defense of the great achievements of socialism in the Soviet Union, the happiness and bright future of the people of the U.S.S.R. But its commanders and men also know that the Red Army defends the cause of socialism throughout the world,

*a happy future for the whole of mankind, too.*

These are the ideals of the Red Army! To give one's life in the struggle for such ideals—this is the pride of heroes, whereas the bitter lot of the soldier of the imperialist army is to die in wars kindled by the exploiting classes for their rapacious gains and for fascist barbarism.

The Red Army is trained in the spirit of internationalism, in the spirit of the unity of the interests of the workers of all lands. And it is precisely for this reason that Comrade Stalin said that it was *the army of the world revolution, the army of the workers of all lands.*

The Red Army has millions of *friends and allies in all parts of the world.* And if the fascist provocateurs or other imperialists take the risk of attacking the land of the Soviets, they will become convinced that there are many friends and allies of the Red Army even in their armies. And the men and commanders of the Red Army, on the other hand, will be filled with enthusiasm at the knowledge that the Red Army is supported in its struggle not only by all the Soviet people, but also by the working people of all countries and the best brains of the whole of progressive mankind.

The international obligation of the labor movement in each capitalist country is to ensure, in deeds, an all-around support for the Soviet Union and the Red Army in the struggle against the fascists and other aggressors by the working people of their respective countries. This requires that the masses of the people be widely acquainted with the victories of socialism in the U.S.S.R., that the Red Army be popularized and a rebuff be given to the anti-Soviet slander spread about by the bourgeois and Social-Democratic press and the Trotskyite agents of fascism. All the open and hidden enemies of the cause of socialism attempting, in the interests of capitalism, to undermine the friendship and collaboration of the world proletariat with the working people of the land of socialism must be rendered harmless.

The Soviet Union is the basis for the struggle of the workers of all lands for socialism. Therefore it is the *international* obligation of the Soviet working class to strengthen and consolidate this great basis of world socialism.

It is a great piece of fortune for the cause of the workers throughout the world that the Red Army of the U.S.S.R. is already so powerful and invincible, that the Red Army, Air Force and Navy of the U.S.S.R. are becoming still stronger, that they are led by the shock brigade of the world proletariat, the Bolshevik Party, and that at the head of the Red Army stands the first Bolshevik Marshal, Comrade Voroshilov.

And it is a supreme piece of good fortune for the cause of the world proletariat that the Red Army and the entire Soviet power are guided by such a great leader of the peoples as Comrade Stalin. Inspired by his name and his cause, the Red Army of the workers of all lands will attain peaks of heroism.

# The First Session of the Supreme Soviet

BY B. SMERAL

ONE of the strongest impressions received at the first session of the first Soviet parliament was that given by the men and women gathered there in the resplendent Kremlin Hall. The Union Soviet has 569 members, and the Soviet of Nationalities, endowed with equal rights, has 574. Of the 1,143 deputies attending the first session, 465 were industrial workers, 330 peasants, 325 clerical workers and Soviet intellectuals. Such is the composition of the body which decides the destinies of the greatest state of the world. There is no need to quote comparative figures. Whoever has looked down from the gallery on the benches of the parliament of any bourgeois country even once would see at the first glance the difference between countries with a formal democracy and the country with a real, a socialist democracy.

Each deputy was elected in a constituency by *secret* ballot: 91,113,153 men and women registered their votes on December 12. The election committees, whose job it was to count the votes after the ballot was ended, included Communists and non-Party people. Ninety-eight per cent of the voters gave their votes to the candidates of the Stalin bloc of Communists and non-Party people. How can one explain that in a secret ballot such tremendous masses of voters voted with such unanimity?

Such a political unity of the people would have been unthinkable had there not been a social basis for it. It is the result and reflection of the economic and social position achieved by the Soviet Union twenty years after the October Revolution. At the same time it is the reflection of the confidence and love of the widest sections of the population for the Party which, led by Lenin and Stalin, has raised the country to such heights in a relatively short period of time. Socialism which in the Soviet Union is no longer a dream for millions of people, but in the main an accomplished fact, has brought the people to the unity displayed on such a tremendous scale during the elections. Stalin gave the following characterization of the present position of the country:

". . . in our country socialism is not merely being built, but has already become part of the life, of the everyday life of the people.

"Some ten years ago the question whether it was possible to build socialism in our country or not could have been discussed. Today this is no longer a question for discussion. Today it is a question of facts, a question of living reality, a reality that permeates the entire life of the people.

"Our factories and mills work without capitalists. The work is directed by men of the people. This is what we call socialism in practice. On our fields, the toilers of the land work without landlords, without kulaks. The work is directed by men of the people. This is what we call socialism in everyday life, this is what we call a free socialist life."

This situation in the country also explains why Molotov was able during the Session of the Supreme Soviet to say so simply and without any exaggeration:

"Here in the Soviet Union there has

developed on the basis of the victory of the power of the working people a moral and political unity of the people unparalleled and non-existent in other countries where capitalism rends society with classes. This has happened because two great forces—the people and communism—have come close to one another and merged into a single whole."

The Soviet elections were not accompanied by the struggle between political parties. At the present time in the U.S.S.R. there are no contradictory class interests the political embodiment of which in the bourgeois states are the different political parties.

The *London Times* was surprised that all the Deputies looked healthy and wore good clothes and fur coats, and that many of them drove up to the Kremlin gates in motor cars. The *Times* drew the conclusion from this that at bottom there was no difference between Soviet Deputies and British professional politicians. The facts recorded by the English Conservative daily are correct, but the conclusion is absolutely wrong. Surprise at the fact that the Deputies did not turn up at the assembling of Parliament in shabby clothes is both naive and conceited. The British Conservative gentlemen need only pay a visit to any of the big department stores in Moscow to see for himself that good clothes and fur coats exist there not only for members of parliament, but that they are bought by ordinary workers of the motor-car factory of that city, and by dairymaids who look after their cows with Stakhanovite care on collective farms in nearby villages. A fur coat and a car in the land of socialism are no argument for class hatred and mutual political struggle. Every capable workman who works honestly finds the door open to the highest functions in all spheres both of production and of state administration.

Why should not those who do unusually good and particularly useful work possess motor-cars? Among the Deputies one can find side by side with workers straight from the workshop, other workers, chosen for their good work to be directors of big factories or heads of important government departments. The country has not yet reached the stage of communism. The grading of wages according to skill still remains an important stimulus to production.

But exploitation has been abolished in the Soviet Union today. There are no capitalists, no landowners, private owners of the means of production, of factories, or of land who can live without productive work of their own, by exploiting the labor of others. To live at the expense of others is a crime against the people in the Soviet Union. The law forbids the formation of organizations or political parties that make such a crime their program and wish to restore capitalism, that directly or indirectly menace the socialist order of society which has become the constitution of the state, won by the hard revolutionary struggle of the working population.

The Soviet people are a socially homogeneous mass. This is the main reason why the Soviet people, correctly led by their Party on the basis of the dearly-bought experiences of the revolution and influenced by the great practical results of socialist construction, are capable of such organized activity, of such cooperation and of such moral and political unanimity as shown by the election and during the session of the first parliament.

The confidence and love that so closely linked up the millions of the Soviet Union with the Bolshevik Party did not drop from the skies. The tremendous practical results of twenty years of struggle and labor have exerted a profound political and moral influence over the people.

Real socialist democracy does not mean leveling down or the predominance of the majority.

The Communist Party created the Soviet state. It was the decisive force in the construction of its socialist framework. Yet the Communist Party did not enter the election campaign alone, nor does it decide alone in Parliament, but in a bloc with the non-Party masses of the population. The workers and peasants have an overwhelming numerical majority in the Soviet Union, but even this preponderance has not been abused.

We read many names of world-famous scientists and artists in the list of deputies. At random I can quote the Academicians Komarov, Baikov and Bach, Professors Burdenko and Schmidt, the authors Alexei Tolstoi and Sholokhov, the actors Moskvin and Korchagina-Alexandrovskaya.

The Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities are completely equal in rights. In the Soviet of Nationalities, comprising 574 members, there are only 146 Russians. The majority consists of 34 Ukrainians, 15 from White Russia, 34 from Azerbaidjan, 33 from Georgia, 30 from Armenia, 17 Turkmens, 26 Uzbeks, 16 Tajiks, 24 Kazakhs, 17 Kirghizes, 15 Tartars, 15 Jews, 9 Germans, 9 Kalmucks, 9 Ossetinians, 7 Urmurts, 8 Komis, 8 Buryats, 8 Marians, 6 Bashkirs, 6 Yakuts, 5 Chechenetses, 5 Mordvins, 5 Cherkesses, 4 Kabardinians, 4 Chuvashes, 4 Nences, 5 Moldavians, 4 Kara-Kalpaks, 5 Abkhasians and 4 Karelians.

The rest of the members of the Soviet of Nationalities belong to small national groups and tribes probably unknown to the average west European newspaper reader even by name (Oirots, Karachai, Balkers, Kumiks, Ingushes, Eventsi, Chakass, Tatys, Kurds, Nogaitses, Avars, Laki, Lesgins, Weps and Adjars). Bulgars, Czechs, Latvians and Persians also have a deputy each. How strong must a national organism be which can give an absolute majority in its Soviet of Nationalities to nations which under tsarism were either completely enslaved or regarded as non-existent, and which in every state of formal bourgeois democracy might at best play a quite subordinate role as national minorities.

The genuine democracy of Soviet parliamentarism is further expressed in the number of women members of both Chambers: 77 and 110. One can easily understand that the *Times* was again surprised at this. The old English Conservative still has in his mind's eye the Russia of yore, when only "society" women were "emancipated" and "educated" while the women of the people, even in the central areas, lived the life of slaves, not to mention the women of the outlying provinces who were bought and sold like cattle.

Finally, the fact that the Soviet of the Union elected a leading member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, Andreyev, as its Chairman and the Soviet of Nationalities chose for its Chairman Comrade Shvernik, leader of the 22,000,000 trade unionists of the Soviet Union, shows the democratic nature of the Soviet parliament and its close contacts with the working masses.

The election of Comrade Dimitroff as member of the first Soviet parliament underlines the fact that the working people of the U.S.S.R. constitute one of the links of the international organization of the proletariat fighting for the victory of socialism throughout the world. Comrade Dimitroff sat close to Comrade Stalin during the first session and was a living protest against barbarous warmongering fascism, against the war-makers, a living embodiment of the slogan: "Workers of all lands, all forces of liberty, progress and peace, unite!"

This is how the elections took place, such is the composition of the Supreme Soviet, the supreme sovereign organ of administration of the greatest state in the world.

Now a few facts characteristic of the work and the working methods of the Soviet parliament:

The Soviet parliament, as sovereign bearer of state power, chose by election, at the joint session of its two chambers, the supreme organs of the state, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the government.

The Soviet Union, under the Stalin Constitution, differs from other countries that it does not have one individual person at its head. The function exercised in the bourgeois republics by the President of the Republic is here entrusted to a collective, to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. There are 37 members in the Presidium. All the most important territories and nations of the state are represented in it. Comrade Kalinin was elected chairman while Comrade Stalin is one of the members of this collective. The magnificent ova-

tions greeting the election of Stalin emphasized the relations between all the nations and the great leader. Of the 37 members of the Presidium, 11 are vice-chairmen, one for each of the Soviet Republics, voluntarily united in the Soviet Union.

The last government, headed by Comrade Molotov, placed its functions in the hands of the newly-elected parliament. The parliament expressed its confidence in the work of the last government, and commissioned Molotov to submit proposals regarding the composition of the new government, the Council of People's Commissars. He was at the same time instructed in carrying out this task, to take into consideration the criticisms made by Deputies in the parliamentary debate of some of the former members of the government. Molotov was received with an ovation. When he submitted for discussion the list of candidates for the new government, the names of Comrades Chubar, Mikoyan, Kossior (elected as vice chairman of the Council of People's Commissars), Yezhov (Interior), and Litvinov (Foreign Affairs) evoked loud applause. The ovation increased when he came to the names of Voroshilov (Defense) and Kaganovich (Heavy Industry). Molotov's proposals were adopted. The new government contains a number of new young forces, called upon for the first time to take over such high state functions.

The Chambers each elected three *permanent committees*, which will continue to sit when the plenum of the parliament is not in session: Committee for the Examination of Projected New Laws, Committee for Foreign Affairs, and the Budget Committee. The chief Public Prosecutor of the Soviet Union (Comrade Vyshinsky) was also elected by parliament.

At its first sesson, the Soviet parliament adopted a number of important decisions, embodying alterations and amendments to the Constitution and the perfecting of the state administration. A number of large administrative areas, more extensive in territory than many West European states, and averaging a population of six million each, were divided into a number of smaller administrative areas. This is to enable the central state organs of these areas to be brought into closer contact with the towns and villages, and to deal more concretely with the interests of the population. It must not be forgotten that state administration in the Soviet Union, collaborating with the local autonomous administrations, has to carry out not only the functions customary in other countries, but at the same time the planned leadership and control of all production and all economic life. In the frontier districts the perfecting of the state administration is also of importance from the standpoint of defense. The State Bank is assuming a position of increasing importance in the planned organization of socialist economy. Parliament decided to give the head of the State Bank the rights of a member of the government. It was further resolved to form three new People's Commissariats: Naval, Engineering, and for Agricultural Purchases.

The Soviet parliament concentrated much attention on questions of *national defense*. On this point it imposed on the new government a new and serious task: now that the Red Army has been brought to a point of indisputable perfection and strength, now that the development of heavy industry has provided the necessary technical prerequisites, the task must be tackled of building up a powerful navy to guarantee the safety of the coastal frontiers of the great land of socialism.

The Soviet Union has more extensive coastal frontiers than any other state in the world. The strategic importance of these frontiers has increased since the bold enterprise of Soviet men has opened up the Arctic seas for regular navigation. The Soviet Union already possesses four independent groups: the Baltic, Black Sea, North Sea and Pacific fleets. During the last few years considerable additions have been made to this fleet in the shape of new, and as yet small units; urgent extensions are being made on several new plants so as to be able rapidly to add powerful units to the navy.

The building of new ships is to be accompanied by preparations for the technical equipment of powerful naval artillery and seaplanes. Cadres of highly skilled seamen and technicians are to be trained. The government has no wish to be taken by surprise by the feverish naval armaments of Japan, Italy, and Germany.

Connected with the question of defense is also the law adopted by the parliament, giving the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. the right to declare martial law in certain districts or all over the state, should the interests of the defense of the country, or the ensuring of the order and safety of the country, demand it. This law is at the same time a reply to the criminal activities of the spies, saboteurs and terrorists, who are attempting as agents of foreign fascist governments to undermine the defensive powers of the country.

The formation of a special People's Commissariat for Engineering, besides the Commissariat for Heavy Industry, indicates that the Soviet power is resolved to proceed energetically on the path of industrialization. This characterizes the general line of the Third Five-Year Plan. Not only does the navy demand further large-scale development of engineering, but the whole transport service, the manufacture of locomotives of new types, of electric motor wagons for freight trains, of motor cars, tractors, combine harvesters, Diesel engines, machine tools, etc. In the course of the debate, one speaker was able to record with pride that by 1936 the Soviet Union had an output of machines twenty-eight times greater than that of tsarist Russia in 1913. And this output is to be greatly increased.

The speeches were brief but to the point, but the criticism of various deficiencies on the part of the government was of a sharpness and candor such as are rarely heard from the benches supporting the governments in bourgeois parliaments. The People's Commissariat of Water Transport, for instance, was severely criticized, the speaker stating that it "worked as if all the waterways were frozen for all eternity," and that the transport of mineral oil had been so neglected that lately only four thousand tons daily had been dispatched from Baku instead of twelve thousand.

Comrade Kerzhenzev, Chairman of the Government Committee for Art, was sharply criticized for tolerating the production of the anti-historical and politically deceptive play *The Knights*, a distortion of Russian national history, for tolerating "the existence under his very nose for quite a long time of a theater which, by its affectation and reliance on flashy effects, strove to vulgarize the classics, did not produce a really Soviet play, demoralized members of the theater company," etc., and for refusing admission to a musical contest of talented children on the sole ground that several of these musicians had at some time and place had distant relatives not quite reliable politically . . . many of whom had died decades ago.

Complaints were made against the People's Commissariat of Justice and its Commissar, Comrade Krylenko, for having failed to cope with the tasks set by the Eighth Congress of Soviets. (He had not ensured that the People's Judges give full account of their activities to the people; he had neglected the question of the training of qualified juridical cadres; he had occupied himself more with tourist and mountain-climbing expeditions, and with chess, than with his Commissariat.) The Committee for Agricultural Purchases was also subjected to criticism. As stated above, these criticisms have not been without influence in the election of the members to the new government.

One could see in the speeches on foreign policy that the deputies of the socialist parliament were fully aware of their responsibility and were able to adapt their various formulations and the tone of their speeches to the occasion. The representative of the Soviet people may speak more freely in parliament than Litvinov at a diplomatic conference. Deputy Zhdanov expressed what millions besides himself think and feel when he declared "that the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs should be more resolute towards the brazen acts

of hooliganism and provocation indulged in by agents of Japan and the so-called puppet state of Manchukuo." He spoke in a different tone of France. But in this connection, too, he asked Litvinov: "How is one to understand a situation in which the government of a country with which we, the U.S.S.R., maintain quite close relations and with which we seem to be coming in close contact permits the existence on its territory of organizations which advocate and organize terrorism against the Soviet Union?"

Another point to which the deputies drew the attention of the government was the fact that "the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs permits a situation where the number of consuls representing foreign powers in the U.S.S.R. is not equal to, but in excess of, the number of consuls representing the U.S.S.R. in foreign states and that some of these consuls plainly exceed their powers and duties and indulge in impermissible behavior, engaging in disruptive activities against the people and the country to which they are accredited."

In reply to this, Molotov, as head of the government, declared that "certain foreign consulates in the U.S.S.R. have engaged in impermissible activities, in hostile anti-Soviet spying and wrecking activities, and, further, that this state of affairs cannot be tolerated in the future." Molotov stated that since January 15, the Japanese consulates in Novosibirsk and Odessa, the Polish consulates in Kharkov and Tiflis, and the German consulates in Leningrad, Tiflis, Kharkov, Odessa and Vladivostok have been closed. It is proposed to close down a number of other consulates, among them the Italian and Latvian ones.

A few words on the work of the deputies while parliament is not in session. Unless they are members of the permanent organs (Presidium, commissions, etc.), the deputies return to their usual work after the sessions. But they are to be given every opportunity, while at work, of maintaining a direct and lively contact with their constituents, of attending meetings to report on their activities, of visiting shops and factories, villages and collective farms, of communicating directly with the state and other central, provincial and local organs. In order to enable these activities to be carried out a law was adopted granting every member of parliament the right to an honorarium of 1,000 rubles monthly and a free railway pass. Besides this, the Deputies receive a daily allowance of 150 rubles while in Moscow during the sessions. A budget of 300,000 rubles annually was granted by law to each of the two Chambers of the Supreme Soviet, for the chancelleries and for the expenses of the chairman and their two acting vice-chairmen.

Elected by the people, these 1,143 Deputies, closely bound up with the people in all parts of the country, independent, with the authority of membership of the body which represents not only the supreme legislative organ, but the actually governing organ—is a powerful force from the point of view of control, from the point of view of order in the administration of the country. A no less important duty of the Deputies, now returning home to their electors from Moscow, is to help people. The Soviet Deputy does not think of his personal advantages. The lobbies of the Kremlin are not the path to careers and sinecures. To be the servant of the people, to work for the great interests of all workers, and at the same time to concern himself with the small day-to-day cares of individuals, this is his task. And he must fulfill it by earning the confidence of his electors afresh every day.

"To be a leader in Soviet conditions means to be worthy of high honor, confidence in the eyes of the people. . . . Leaders come and go, but the people remain. Only the people are immortal. Everything else is passing. Therefore one must know how to treasure the confidence of the people." (Stalin.)

The Soviet Deputy after his election is not independent of his electors. The Soviet Constitution secures to the electors the right to recall their deputy before the expiration of the election period should he have forfeited their confidence. In such a case the government is in duty-bound to hold a new election in the dis-

trict. This legal regulation, too, is a part of the real democracy of the Land of the Soviets.

I cannot conclude these remarks on the impressions of the first session of the Soviet parliament without writing a few words about Stalin. Stalin did not participate in the discussions. He was scarcely to be seen in the crowd filling the hall. How ridiculous those articles appear today, published by the fascist press, asserting that Stalin permitted the Constitution and the elections solely for the purpose of being able to gain by means of a "plebiscite" that position at the head of the state to which Comrade Kalinin has again been elected! But despite this, it could be felt that Stalin's name influenced not only every speech from the platform, but the mind and heart of every person present.

It is difficult to describe the enthusiasm aroused every time the name of Stalin was mentioned. It is difficult to picture the outburst of feeling of the hundreds of thousands of people who, on the last day of the session of parliament, during the demonstration through the Red Square, filed past Stalin and the leaders of the Party and the members of the new government. The entire country and each individual worker, peasant and intellectual knows what Stalin means to the Soviet Union, what he means to the Party and each individual person.

The Stalin Constitution and the Stalinist parliament crown the gigantic amount of work done, constitute the beginning of a new colossal advance. What dangers have been overcome, how many complicated questions affecting the fate of socialism, questions of life and death to the Soviet system, have been solved by the brilliant penetrating mind and concentrated will, by the firm hand of Stalin for the happiness of the working people, for the happiness of mankind! The events of the very latest period, the ridding the country of enemies of the people, agents of the foreign fascist warmakers, the bold attraction of hundreds of thousands of honest Party members and non-Party Bolsheviks, devoted to socialism, to the administration of the state and socialist economy were accepted by the population as a battle won, and exerted their effect on the labors of the Supreme Soviet.

Stalin's name is the expression of the inner security of the great people, the expression of the faith of the masses in themselves. Stalin is the supreme embodiment of wise foresight, of confidence in one's own strength, of socialist clarity of thought, of concentrated will, of freedom, democracy, organization, of the political and moral unity of 170,000,000. Therefore Lenin's successor, the creator of the socialist Constitution, enjoys decisive authority in this tremendous country. And, therefore, he exercised decisive influence over the first session of the Soviet parliament, although he did not himself mount the speakers' platform, but preferred to remain modestly and inconspicuously among the crowd of deputies.

# The Seizure of Austria, and the Masses of the People of Germany

BY F. DENGEL

LONG before the fatal day of March 11, German fascism prepared to invade Austria with the aim of enslaving the Austrian people.

The attempt to seize Austria unawares by a fascist putsch in the autumn of 1934, when the Austrian Chancellor Dollfuss was killed, fell through, for the Reichswehr invasion then proposed in connection with the putsch threatened Germany with war against the rest of Europe, including Italy. In 1934, as now in 1938, German fascism only had an insignificant handful of mercenary degenerate people in Austria, and strove by all means possible to establish such a situation in Europe as would make it possible for it to commit this crime—the violent incorporation of Austria in Germany—without any great risk.

German fascism, it goes without saying, resorted to all means possible to carry through the requisite preparatory work in Austria as well. The clerical-fascist regime of the "fatherland front" deprived the Austrian people of their rights, destroyed the parties of the working class, the trade unions and peasant organizations, and being under the thumb of Mussolini facilitated the crimes of fascism directed against the liberty and independence of other nations. This gave Hitler full scope for the carrying into operation of his foul plans of enslaving Austria.

Despite this, the Austrian proletariat, the huge majority of the Austrian peasants—the overwhelming majority of the Austrian people—unanimously rejected the idea of having anything in common with Hitler Germany. During the years of oppression by the "estates' regime" the resolution not to be a plaything in the hands of other powers, itself to determine its fate and to defend its natural liberty and independence, developed with particular force among the Austrian people. This will of the Austrian people became fully and clearly manifest when Schuschnigg on February 13 agreed in Berchtesgaden to the treaty so degrading to Austria that was dictated to him by Hitler.

The Austrian proletariat rallied against the brazen interference of the Berlin rulers in the internal affairs of Austria, demanded the resignation of the ministers—agents of Hitler fascism—appointed on orders from Berlin. No less resolute was the protest of the peasant masses, of wide sections of the intellectuals and urban petty bourgeoisie. In these days of most awful threats from without, the Austrian people declared for all to hear that they wanted to be a free, independent nation and that they wanted to contribute their share to the liberty of nations and the progress of mankind.

It is essential that the entire German people, tormented and suppressed by Hitler fascism, should thoroughly understand these facts. Hitler and his associates lie shamelessly when they speak of the "liberation" of the Austrian people and assert that they are only fulfilling the will of the Austrian people. German troops came to Austria not as liberators, but as invaders; gangs of storm troopers

and Gestapo hordes appeared in Austria not as the representatives of the national liberty of the Austrian people, but as its hangmen. They came as imperialist conquerors, operating on the instructions of the gentlemen of the "Alpinen-Montan-Gesellschaft" and the big German capitalists.

As far back as 1934 it became clear to the German fascists that the incorporation of Austria in Germany could only be brought about by force, only against the will of the Austrian people.

The reason why they encouraged all Mussolini's imperialist adventures—in Ethiopia, in Spain, his intrigues against Britain and French—was to free their hands so as to overcome the danger of a conflict with Italy in case of their conquest of Austria. This in itself was not enough. They could not deal a blow at Austria without playing on the contradictions and weaknesses of the bourgeois democratic countries of Europe, without —as has been clearly confirmed by the British Tory press and the *Voelkische Beobachter*—securing the direct support of the British government. And, finally, they could not have dealt this blow had they—at least after Hitler's entry into the Rhineland and after the beginning of the robber war of intervention in Spain —come up against the single and resolute determination of the European working class movement to put an end to the growth and aggression of fascism.

Only now do we get a thoroughly clear understanding of the events in Germany in the beginning of this year. From the autumn of 1937 onwards, from the time when Schacht was removed from the post of Minister of Economy, it became clear that the rapidly growing economic difficulties—questions of food, raw material supplies, foreign trade, etc.—had aroused among a considerable section of the German bourgeoisie objections to the continuation of a high-speed policy of war. In January this bourgeois clique attempted to influence Hitler, by linking their action with simultaneous action by several generals led by Fritsch, chief of the Army General Staff. These circles warned Hitler against military adventures and acts of provocation, demanded a partial change in Goering's so-called four-year plan and the establishment of the preconditions for the placing of a big loan abroad. In addition they demanded of Hitler that the army be withdrawn from the system of "unification."

But this action of the opposition groups of Hitler Germany was too late. Hitler had already concluded a new agreement with Mussolini which freed his hand in Austria. In return for this a promise had been made of more active participation by Germany in the war of intervention against Republican Spain, primarily in the shape of providing General Franco with colossal supplies of war materials. To carry through this shameful agreement the German and Italian fascists secured their own rear by obtaining the support of the reactionary British clique surrounding Chamberlain and Halifax.

Basing himself on the agreement with Mussolini and the silent assent of Chamberlain, Hitler was able on February 4 to take the step of removing the opposition-minded generals and hundreds of officers, to hand over directly into the hands of the fascist party the most important section of the Ministry of War, the Personnel Department. All hopes of the opposition—albeit reactionary—circles in Germany, as for instance the upper hierarchy of the Catholic Church, certain political leaders of the Catholic movement, and certain reactionary leaders of the Social-Democratic Party, etc., of being able to abolish the barbarous, fascist dictatorship and to replace it by a more "cultured" dictatorship with the aid of the army were thereby destroyed.

At the same time, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was placed in the hands of Ribbentrop—Neurath and many diplomats being recalled from their posts. The Ministry of Economy was reorganized into what is fundamentally a Ministry of War Economy, as is confirmed by the appointment of General Staff officers to the most important departments of this ministry.

In a speech delivered on February 20 in the German "Reichstag," Hitler drew conclusions from the events of February 4. He demanded the further strengthen-

ing of the army, the strengthening of all armament measures, a still more strict subordination of planned economy to the requirements of the preparation of war; he announced the incorporation of Austria, increased intervention in Spain, threatened Czechoslovakia with the same execution as Austria, and in a camouflaged form promised France the same fate as Spain should the French people dare to reject the forms into which the life of the German people now under the yoke of fascism barbarism had been forced.

Hitler fulfilled his threats to Austria with amazing rapidity. The executioner gangs of Storm Troppers and the Gestapo have begun their bloody work of oppressing and enslaving the Austria people.

After this barbarous attack of German fascism on the Austrian people the press of the hypocritical reactionaries in Britain made the statement that fascism must now be prevented from undertaking further attacks on the countries of Europe. One calls to mind that we heard the same sort of language from the same people after the violation of the Locarno Treaty and after the occupation of the Rhineland. Europe and world peace would be in a bad way if we were to believe these words.

Unless the international labor movement is roused to action, unless progressive people and those interested in the maintenance of peace are aroused to action, unless an active policy is pursued against fascist aggression by the European powers that now bear a tremendous responsibility for the fate of their countries and peoples, the fascists will proceed to new acts of provocation, to new onslaughts on other countries and peoples. But then the question facing France will be as to whether to bow to the domination of fascist Germany and subordinate itself to it, or world war will become inevitable. Therefore those who wish to avoid such war must now, without losing a single moment, display their will and resolution, be ready to mobilize all resources to put an end to the further advance of fascism.

And the German people themselves are vitally interested in the road being barred to further crimes against other countries and peoples, to the criminals who oppress and terrorize them.

The fascist regime in Germany is now engaged in the attempt to convince the German people that the violent conquest of Austria, the subordination and oppression of the Austrian people are a national feat of heroism. That was what Hitler said in his speech in Berlin on March 18, that is what the Goerings and Goebbels are saying now, that is what the entire fascist press is howling about. The fascist rulers are attempting to arouse a wave of chauvinism among the German people, so as to force them to forget the crime of fascism against its own people, to forget the enslavement of the workers, the disfranchisement and plundering of the peasants, the ruin of the handicraft workers and small traders, the shameful oppression of the intellectuals, the hounding of Catholic and Protestant working people. The fascists are attempting to arouse a wave of chauvinism so as to develop the readiness among the people to fight for the interests of the big monopoly capital of the Thyssens and Krupps, the Flicks and Opels, for the adventurous bandit plans of the ambitious gang in power, to die for them on the battlefields, to perish of hunger behind the lines.

Like Wilhelm II, the German fascists are again bragging of their "splendid arms." Before the war of 1914 the big capitalist vultures in whose interests the ruinous war was undertaken deceived the German people by telling them that the point at issue was the defense of their country. At that time Germany was one of the strongest military powers in Europe. But she was defeated and the German people were compelled to pay with their blood for this.

Today the fascist brigands are faced not only by better armed powers, they are faced by peoples who know that in a war against fascism they are defending everything that concerns their lives namely national liberty, social progress, future happiness. Fascist Germany will be utterly smashed in such a war. This, of course, will mean the defeat of German fascism, but the sacrifices of the German

people in the war will be immeasurable. Therefore, the most important task facing all freedom-loving and progressive people in Germany, in the interests of the German people themselves, is to employ all means to counter the chauvinism being inflamed by fascism, to rouse the masses of the working people to the defense of peace, their lives, the lives of their wives and children, a happy future for Germany.

The sacred duty of the German workers, peasants and intellectuals is to rise to the struggle in defense of the complete and free right of the Austrian people to self-determination. The Austrian people have much in common with the German people historically and culturally, but they desire to be free and independent and as an independent free people to join with a really free German people and other free European nations in contributing their share to the development of a new higher culture.

The German people and primarily the German working class must passionately strive to make up for the crime committed by German fascism against the Austrian people, to secure that the German troops and terrorist bands of Storm Troopers and the Gestapo leave Austria. The liberation struggle of the Austrian people must meet with energetic support from all freedom-loving anti-fascist sections of the German people. The German people and particularly their vanguard must clearly realize that the struggle of the Austrian people for liberty and independence is not yet at an end and that it is directed not against the German people, but, on the contrary, corresponds to the latter's interests. Therefore the German people must do everything possible to support the now developing movement of solidarity with the Austrian people. For the more powerful this movement, the more the democratic, progressive nations and individuals interested in the maintenance of peace muster their forces, the more quickly they respond to the crime committed against the Austrian people by establishing the united front of the international labor movement so long needed—the greater will the chances be of putting an end to the horrible war plans of German fascism and its allies.

And Comrade Dimitroff's words to the effect that peace means death for fascism still continue to maintain their significance. The stronger the movement of resistance to the crimes of fascism throughout the world, the more rapidly will the preconditions mature for a victorious liberation struggle of the German people.

In its manifesto to the German people regarding the seizure of Austria, the Communist Party of Germany lays particular stress on the appeal to German Social-Democrats. It is well known that a group of Social-Democratic leaders headed by Wels have till now put up furious opposition to all attempts of the Communist Party to establish the united front, to all proposals of Social-Democratic militants in Germany and part of the Social-Democratic leaders abroad regarding a united front with the Communists. Even now, after the violence committed by Hitler against Austria, the organ of this group, the *Neue Vorwärts*, tries to make use of the Moscow trial of the fascist spies and murderers—the "Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites"—to make collaboration between Social-Democrats and Communists impossible.

The *Neue Vorwärts* deliberately passes over in silence the fact that this trial and the liquidation of the gang of plotters and traitors to the socialist state, the gang of provocateurs and spies in the service of fascism, are a blow above all at German fascism, a blow at the warmongers, a victory for the cause of peace and democracy. After long vacillations, certain parties affiliated to the Labor and Socialist International are beginning to recognize this. Thus, for example, the *Pravo Lido*, central organ of Czech Social-Democracy, in an article published on March 13, wrote that the Trotsky-Bukharin-Rykov-Yagoda gang betrayed the interests of the Soviet state to foreign aggressors, *i.e.*, to their fascist masters, that at the same time this gang sacrificed the democratic idea to these aggressors and was prepared in 1936-37 to hurl Europe into the abyss of war.

An understanding of the tremendous

service rendered to the cause of peace and democracy by the Bolshevik Party and the organs of the Soviet power in exposing and liquidating the spies of German, Japan and Poland, will penetrate into the ranks of German Social-Democracy too. And it will become clear to the Social-Democratic workers that in this trial the Soviet government defended their most vital interests as well, and by its resolute measures rendered assistance to the labor movement throughout the world, and particularly the German labor movement, that the Soviet government operated as the friend and helper of the German labor movement. It will become clear to them that the defenders of the Trotskyite pack of agents-provocateurs, servants of fascism, are in fact accomplices of the fascists themselves.

Now all those who are convinced of the need for a joint struggle against fascism and war by all the trends within the working class, particularly the considerable sections of the German Social-Democratic Party, will raise their voices and call for a struggle, together with Communists, for democracy, peace and bread, for the liberty of the Austrian people. This voice will be heard by millions of people. Then the time will come when people like Wels will have no other alternative but to yield to the will of the huge majority of the members of their party. Then it will become clear that the power of the German working class has not been broken, that it will again play a decisive role in the political life of Germany, in alliance with the millions of peasants and the middle classes, in alliance with the Catholic workers and peasants, who now, when the persecution of Catholics has begun in Austria, are ready to fight against fascism with still greater determination than formerly.

Like the Communists, the best people of Germany and throughout the world, all honest anti-fascists, want an end to be put in the bourgeois-democratic countries to the policy of capitulation to Hitler, to the policy of concessions to the insatiable brigands, to the policy of encouraging their plans of aggression and the acts of aggression themselves. Together with us they want an end to be put to the resistance of the most influential leaders of the Labor and Socialist International, and International Federation of Trade Unions, to the establishment of international united action, and a struggle to be undertaken against fascist aggression.

Social-Democrats must understand that German Communists and Social-Democrats have the duty of themselves showing an example so as to inspire the labor movement in other countries, as has been done by the Spanish Communists and Socialists. For this is our cause, the cause of the German workers, of the entire German people who are most directly concerned with this.

The events of recent months have sharpened the situation in Europe, have sharpened the danger of a world war. At the same time the chances of resisting the fascist criminals have grown. The duty of everybody bearing the honored name of leader and official of the German labor movement is to employ every means and exert every effort to make use of these chances. But the main precondition for this is a united plan, a united will, united action of the working class.

All those who desire the overthrow of the barbarous Hitler regime must draw the lesson from the experience of the past years, from the fact that fascism has been able to make use of the split in the working class. Today it is clear to everybody that fascism means war. The point at issue is peace in Europe, the lives of millions of people, the future of the German people. It is not yet late today to prevent fascism fulfilling its criminal designs. Only one thing is necessary: unity among all those who wish to defend peace, liberty and the happiness of the German people.

# Hitler's Demagogy and Juggling With Figures

BY E. VARGA

IN A SPEECH delivered in the Reichstag on February 20, Hitler for the first time attempted to support his demagogy by producing concrete economic facts and figures.

Hitler painted a rosy picture of the development of German economy during the period of the rule of the fascists. Hitler's methodological jugglery amounts in the main to the following:

1. He pictures matters as though the rise in output and in the "national income," the reduction in the unemployment figures, are phenomena applicable only to Germany.

In actual fact an increase in output was to be marked from the beginning of 1933 in the majority of capitalist countries, since the lowest point touched by the industrial crisis that began in 1929 was reached approximately in the middle of 1932, and from then until the autumn of 1937 the curve of capitalist economy rose upwards.

2. He compares the present economic situation in Germany with 1932, the year when the economic crisis was at its sharpest.

Methodologically, in making an honest comparison, one should take as a basis the figures for the years 1928 and 1929, *i.e.*, the years when the previous cycle reached its highest point of development.

3. Hitler pictures matters as though the improvement in German economy since 1932 is the result of the economic policy of fascism.

In actual fact, an improvement by comparison with 1929 also took place in a number of bourgeois-democratic countries. This is the result of the cyclical development of capitalist economy.

4. Hitler keeps silent about one very extremely important point, the fact that he includes the war industry in its entirety in the figures characterizing the extent of industrial output and national income.

5. Hitler pretends that the increase in output, the increase in the national income, correspond to a rise in the well-being of the whole people. But this is gross deception. The working people are no better off from the fact that their labor takes the forms of guns, airplanes and tanks.

And now we shall attempt to analyze the most important data quoted in Hitler's speech.

## IS GERMANY'S NATIONAL INCOME ON THE INCREASE?

In his speech Hitler boasts of a great increase since 1932 in the national income of Germany. He asserts that in comparison with 1932, the national income in 1937 had risen by 50 per cent (45,000 million marks in 1932, and about 68,000 million marks in 1937).

And what is more, he considers it to be a self-evident fact that the income of every working man has increased concurrently with the increase of the national income. But here Hitler has overlooked some points missed by his stage-managers in the sphere of fascist statistics. A month before Hitler made his speech, the following analysis was published in the official journal *Economy and Statistics* (January issue, 1938) of the national income per head of the German population, *i.e.*, per "complete units of population." The number of "complete units" is calculated by the Imperial Statistical

Administration, and includes the number of women and children which is transformed, according to a definite coefficient, into "complete units."

Out of the national income, each "complete unit of population" received:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1928 | 1,453 | marks |
| 1929 | 1,453 | " |
| 1934 | 973 | " |
| 1935 | 1,057 | " |
| 1936 | 1,135 | " |

As we see, the income per "complete unit of population" in 1936 was considerably lower than before the crisis. Figures slightly more advantageous for the fascists are produced by the Statistical Administration which divides the national income by the cost of living index of the corresponding years, taking 1928 as 100.

The national income per "complete unit of population" calculated according to the purchasing power of the mark in 1928:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1913 | 1,505 | marks |
| 1928 | 1,453 | " |
| 1934 | 1,219 | " |
| 1935 | 1,303 | " |
| 1936 | 1,382 | " |

The average for the last three years of fascist rule is 1,268 marks.

As we see, the national income per "complete unit" as calculated by the Statistical Administration for the years of fascist rule in 1934-36 was 10 per cent lower than in 1928, prior to the advent of the crisis. In no single one of these years did the national income per "complete unit" reach the level of 1928.

The Statistical Administration itself sums up its analysis in the following way:

"Yet in spite of this correction introduced, it may be considered that the national income of the German people in 1936 approximated to the sum of the national income in the years 1913 and 1928."

And so, according to official calculations, the national income per head in 1936 did not reach the level it attained in 1928, in the period of the Weimar Republic so fiercely abused by the fascists.

But the recalculation of the income per "complete unit" with the aid of the cost of living index gives too high a figure, for the cost of living index—we shall again return to this—has been very much falsified. In actual fact, the income per head of the population in Germany at the present time is considerably lower than before the crisis of 1929. This follows from the fact that at the present time, out of the total product of German economy a considerably greater part than in the period prior to the seizure of power by Hitler takes the form of armaments in the widest sense of the word.

In the British *Round Table* (page 266, issue of March, 1938) the following data are quoted for the year 1936:

*Percentage of the national income expended on armaments*

| *Great Britain* | *U.S.A.* | *France* | *Germany* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 3.0 | 1.5 | 7.6 | 20.2 |

According to these data, the year 1936 saw the expenditure of one-fifth of the national income of Germany for war purposes. In 1932, war expenditures amounted, to all appearances, to only a small percentage, let us say 5 per cent of the national income. If the year 1936 showed an expenditure of 20 per cent of the national income for war purposes as against 5 per cent in 1932, this means that the real income in Germany per head of the population is hardly above that of 1932, that is to say, the year when the crisis was at its severest.

Hitler pictures matters as though the increase in the total national income in the period between 1932 and 1937 was the result of the fascist policy. This is a swindle. In some bourgeois-democratic countries the national income increased during these years far more than in Germany, as a result of the overcoming of the economic crisis. The U.S.A. can serve as an example.

*National Income of the U.S.A. in Billions of Dollars* (*)

| *1932* | *1936* | *Percentage Increase* |
|---|---|---|
| 39.5 | 63.8 | 61 |

* From the Statistical Abstract of the U.S.A., *Journal of Commerce*, for 1936.

The position is exactly the same in many other capitalist countries.

Thus there are no grounds for picturing the increase in Germany's national income as being due to Hitler's policy, all the more so since the increase in the total national income is accompanied by a decline in the income per head.

### THE DEVELOPMENT OF INDUSTRY

In his speech, Hitler brags about the tremendous increase in output as compared with 1932. It is a fact that Germany's total output has increased considerably in the last five years, as is the case in almost all capitalist countries.

*Total Industrial Output, 1929 = 100.*

| 1932 | 1936 | 1937* | Percentage Increase |
|---|---|---|---|
| 53.3 | 106.3 | 116 | 118 |

* First ten months

The reason why the rate of the increase in output was so great was that the index of industrial output during the crisis fell to a particularly low level. But correctly to estimate the alleged achievements of the economic policy of fascism, a comparison should be made between the total output in the recent years and the total output prior to the advent of the crisis of 1929. If we make such a comparison—methodologically the only corect one—then the results as far as fascism is concerned are far from satisfactory. Industrial output in Germany in 1937 was only 18 per cent higher than in 1929. But similar or even better results are to be noted in a number of democratic countries.

*Total Industrial Output in 1937 (Taking 1929 as 100)*

| | |
|---|---|
| Great Britain | 124 |
| Denmark (11 months) | 134 |
| Norway (11 months) | 128 |
| Sweden (11 months) | 149 |

In quite a number of countries, Japan, Bulgaria, Chile, Esthonia, Lithuania, industrial output increased to a far greater degree than in Germany, as compared with 1929.

A more detailed analysis of the figures of the development of German industry shows us that despite the big increase in production, there has been no improvement whatsoever in supplying the population with the products of industry as compared with the years preceding the seizure of power by the fascists. This is primarily the result of the fact that a tremendous part of industrial output directly or indirectly serves armament purposes.

The following figures show that there has been, under fascist rule, no improvement as regards supplying the people of Germany with the products of industry.

*Industrial Output in Germany (Taking 1928 as 100)**

| | Means of Production | Means of Consumption |
|---|---|---|
| 1928..... | 97.1 | 103.1 |
| 1929..... | 100 | 100 |
| 1930..... | 81.6 | 94.0 |
| 1931..... | 52.5 | 89.2 |
| 1932..... | 34.4 | 76.3 |
| 1933..... | 43.6 | 82.6 |
| 1934..... | 72.6 | 92.4 |
| 1935..... | 99.4 | 88.2 |
| 1936..... | 113.2 | 98.7 |
| 1937..... | 123.6 | 100 |

* League of Nations Bulletin.

These figures show that only in 1937 did the output of means of consumption approximate to the level of 1928. But if we take the average figure of the output of means of consumption for the five-year period of the Hitler regime, and for the five years prior to the seizure of power by Hitler (taking 1929 as 100), then it turns out that the average for 1928-1932 is 92.5 per cent while that for 1933-1937 is 93 per cent.

Thus, during the five years of the rule of the fascists, the output of the means of consumption almost corresponds to the output shown in the previous five years!

But since the population has increased since that time, since a great part of the output serves war aims, since there has been a sharp decline in the quality of commodities, it is clear that the population of Germany have, under the rule of the fascists, been supplied with articles of wide consumption of worse quality than before.

ABOUT DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURE

Hitler boasts that there has been an improvement in the condition of agriculture during the period of his rule. In proof of this he refers to the fact that the value of the output of agriculture increased from 8,700,000,000 marks in 1932 to over 12,000,000,000 marks in 1937. He tries to create the impression that the increase in value is identical with an increase in output.

There can be no question of this, as the following facts show.

The total area employed in agriculture has declined as the result of the building of airdromes, frontier fortifications, and trunk roads.*

In 1937, there were one million hectares less of arable land than in 1932!

Under the fascist regime, there has been a decline in the harvest of grain crops as compared with the past.** If we compare the 1937 harvest with that of 1932, as Hitler does, or—as is methodologically more correct—with the first years prior to the fascist rule, we find that the harvest of grain crops is over one million tons less.

The harvest of potatoes and beets remained approximately on the same level; it was only crops specially favored for war purposes such as hemp, flax, etc., that increased considerably, but their relative importance in agriculture is insignificant.

The increase in the total head of cattle between 1932 and 1937 was inconsiderable. But there was a sharp decline in the number of pigs in 1937, and the decline in the total head of pigs will continue in 1938 as well. In December, 1937, as compared with December, 1936, there were 8.6 per cent less young pigs, 21 per cent less suckling pigs under eight months old, and 30.9 per cent less sows under one year.

The journal *Economy and Statistics* (January, 1938) writes of these figures that the "number of sows was considerably less than is necessary to provide the population with pork in the future."

The peasants are doing everything possible to cut down pig breeding, since the price of the fodder brought to the market by the big farmers is too high, while the prices fixed for pork are too low, as compared with the prices of fodder. The ban placed on the purchase of pig-breeding products in the open market, and the strict control over consumption on the peasant farms are increasingly depriving the peasant of all desire to engage in pig-breeding.

These data regarding the total output of agriculture show us that the big increase in the income of agriculture, announced by Hitler, cannot at all be the result of an increase in the output of agriculture.

The official prices fixed by the Hitler dictatorship for the products of agriculture were approximately 20 per cent higher in 1937 than in 1932. But since, as we have seen from the figures above quoted, there has been no increase in the output of agriculture, then there could have been no 38 per cent increase in the income of agriculture, as Hitler asserts.

Hitler makes the assertion that, as a result of the growth of agriculture, the consumption of the food products raised in the country itself has increased from 75 per cent to 81 per cent (the figure of 100 per cent is taken for the total quantity of products consumed in the country. Imports are also included.)

It is an absolute swindle to make such an assertion, since what has taken place in agriculture is not an increase, but a decline (as the above-quoted figures

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* Area employed, in thousands of hectares (without the Saar region):

| 1932 | 1937 | Decrease |
|---|---|---|
| 29,370 | 28,747 | 623 |

Arable land (in thousands of hectares):

| 1932 | 1937 | Decrease |
|---|---|---|
| 20,475 | 19,422 | 1.053 |

** Grain harvest (in millions of tons):

| Type of Grain | Average figure for 5 years 1928-32 | 1932 | Average figure for 5 years 1933-37 | 1937 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Rye ..... | 7.88 | 8.36 | 7.59 | 6.76 |
| Wheat .. | 4.04 | 5.00 | 4.72 | 4.39 |
| Barley .. | 3.12 | 3.21 | 3.40 | 3.54 |
| Oats .... | 6.58 | 6.58 | 5.86 | 5.87 |
| Total.. | 21.62 | 23.15 | 21.57 | 20.56 |

Statistical Annual of the German Empire for 1936-37.

show quite clearly) and there has been a sharp decline in consumption in general. As everybody knows, there is a regular shortage in Germany of fats, bread is baked out of a mixture of rye and potato flour, while sausages are made not of meat but of fish. The fascist slogan "guns instead of butter" is a reflection of the worsening of the conditions of the German people.

The official fascist statistics are doing everything possible in the attempt to cover up this worsening of the nourishment of the working people.

The fascist journal *German National Economy* (October, 1937, p. 960) contains the following table illustrating the development of the consumption of food products in Germany per head of the population.

| | *1932* | *1936* | *Plus or minus in %* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bread ..... | 225.9 | 202.4 | — 10.4 |
| Potatoes ..... | 220.4 | 227.0 | + 3.0 |
| Legumes ..... | 3.4 | 2.9 | — 14.7 |
| Fruits ..... | 37.9 | 36.1 | — 4.7 |
| Meat ..... | 56.4 | 59.1 | + 4.7 |
| Fish ..... | 7.0 | 10.91 | + 54.0 |
| Fats, excluding butter ..... | 12.9 | 10.1 | — 21.7 |
| —of which lard | 4.1 | 2.9 | — 29.3 |
| " margarine | 8.9 | 7.2 | — 20.0 |
| Dairy products. | 194.5 | 108.2 | — 13.5 |

As can be seen from this table, the fascists themselves admit a considerable decline in the consumption per head of bread, fats, milk, vegetables, etc. However, they make the assertion that there has been an increase in the consumption of meat. This is a lie. The increase in the consumption per head of meat exists only on paper, but not in reality. Formerly statistics did not cover the meat that the peasants themselves consumed. Now, however, account is taken of every pig slaughtered. Hence, the seeming increase in the consumption of meat.

The statistics regarding the consumption of meat are falsified from another angle too. During the fascist regime a large amount of meat is consumed by the army and the fascist units, meat is canned for the army and is retained in case of war. The consumption of meat v the workers, however, as foreign observers have established, is considerably lower now than before the advent of the fascists to power.

### INCREASE IN FOREIGN TRADE

Hitler shows that between the years 1933 and 1937 imports increased from 4,200,000,000 to 5,500,000,000 marks, and exports from 4,900,000,000 to 5,900,000,000 marks. Here Hitler takes the figures of 1933 for purposes of comparison and not those of 1932 that he has quoted all along.

Why? Because a comparison of exports in 1937 (5,900,000,000 marks) with exports in 1932 (5,740,000,000 marks) shows the very inconsiderable increase of only 160,000,000 marks. A comparison, however, of the data of exports in 1937 with exports in 1933 (4,870,000,000 marks) shows a big increase (of 1,030,000,000 marks); thus Hitler is engaged in a swindle when he shows an increase in exports in 1937 by taking for comparison the figures for 1933, and not for 1932.

The insignificant increase in exports was achieved by systematic dumping. The *Neue Zurichezeitung* of November 18, 1937, wrote:

"German machinery in South America is 20 per cent cheaper than American, and 40 per cent cheaper than British.

"German typewriters are 50 per cent cheaper than British typewiters. In the case of big orders for machinery, the Germans apparently attempt as a matter of principle to defeat their competitors."

The losses resulting from the cut prices at which goods are sold abroad are compensated by additions to prices on the home market! Thus dumping leads to an increase in the cost of living inside Germany!

### THE INCREASE OF SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS

In his speech Hitler boasts that there has been an increase in savings bank deposits by 6,000,000,000 marks during his regime. This increase of savings bank deposits is by no means to the credit of the Hitler regime. In the Weimar

Republic, prior to the 1929 crisis, the increase of savings bank deposits took place at a far more rapid rate.

*Total Savings Bank Deposits in Million Marks (end of the year)*

| 1924 | 1929 | 1932 | 1937 |
|---|---|---|---|
| 595 | 9,315 | 10,195 | 16,100 |

During the five years between 1924 and 1929, the increase amounted to 8,720,000,000 marks. Under the fascist dictatorship, the increase between 1932 and 1937 was 5,905,000,000 marks.

The average increase of savings bank deposits in the five years of the Weimar Republic prior to the crisis was almost 50 per cent more than the figure during the Hitler regime.

An analysis of the amount of the individual savings bank deposits shows that under the fascist regime almost the entire increase in deposits concerns the big deposits (of 10,000 marks and over) that belong not to the working people, but to the capitalists.

Hitler makes the boastful assertion that the income of the empire increased from 6,600,000,000 marks in 1932 to 14,000,000,000 marks in 1937. But he "forgot" to point out that the fascist state had taken approximately 20,000,000,000 marks from the population in 1937, in the shape of taxes, customs receipts, and as unemployment insurance contributions.* Only this made it possible for the fascist rulers to use 29 per cent of the total national income on state expenditures. With the exception of Japan, this is the highest figure among the capitalist states. Of the sum taken from the population by the fascist states, the lion's share came from the working people in the shape of taxes and customs duties on articles of consumption and assessments. Whereas prior to the fascist rule the workers received a considerable portion of the taxes and assessments they paid, in the shape of unemployment benefits and other special services, during the Hitler regime this has gone by the board. What is more, of the unemployment insurance contributions taken from the workers, the state takes huge sums for armament.*

Out of the wages of the workers, in addition to taxes and subscriptions established by law, various excuses are employed to make numerous deductions: the worker is compelled to pay membership dues to the fascist trade unions, to contribute to "winter aid," etc. These contributions are "voluntary," but anybody who attempts to avoid payment is sacked. The peasants are burdened in the same way, not only with taxes, but also with various levies that fundamentally are extracted under compulsion.

The huge sums extracted from the population by the fascist state—an average of 29 pfennigs per mark—are insufficient to cover up the huge expenditure on armaments. The national debt has increased by several thousands of millions of marks during the period of Hitler's rule. No data are published showing the exact figures. The *Statistical Annual* for 1937 in a note on page 492 states the following:

"The calculation of the debts of the empire, provinces, and municipalities together is impossible because of the fact that the figures contain the indebtedness of the different organizations to one another."

This, of course, is merely dodging the issue! According to approximate estimates made abroad, the new long-term loans of the German state issued during the Hitler regime are estimated at

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(*billion marks*)

| | |
|---|---|
| * Taxes and customs receipts of the Empire, provinces and municipalities | 18 |
| Unemployment Insurance contributions | 1.6 |
| | 19.6 |

*Source: Reichs-Kreditgesellschaft*, p. 80.

* Whereas in 1932, 3,150,000,000 marks were expended on unemployed aid, in 1937 Hitler took 1,600,000,000 marks from the workers in the shape of unemployment insurance contributions, but only expended 400,000,000 marks on unemployment benefits. Unemployment insurance provides a clear surplus of 1,200,000,000 marks used for war purposes. (*Ibid.*, p. 78.)

10,000,000,000 marks, while indebtedness on various types of special state bills amounts appoximately to the same big sum.

### THE SEEMINGLY HONEST MARK

In his speech Hitler boasts that as against the situation in the non-fascist countries, there has been no devaluation of the mark in Germany. He asserts that the purchasing power of the mark has remained stable, but this is a deliberate lie. Anybody who wishes can convince himself of this by purchasing products of any kind in Germany. The mark has actually been devaluated by 40-50 per cent. This clearly can be seen by comparing indices of wholesale prices.

*Indices of Wholesale Prices at the End of 1937 (1929 is taken as 100)*

| Germany | U.S.A. | Great Britain (Statist.) | Great Britain (Economist) |
|---|---|---|---|
| 76.9 | 87.4 | 85.3 | 83.5 |

Official wholesale prices in Germany are only from 10 to 15 per cent lower than the wholesale price indices in Great Britain and America expressed in a devaluation of the currency by 40 per cent. Besides, account is not taken of the worsening of the quality of many commodities as a result of the consumption of so-called substitutes. The decline in the purchasing power of the mark as a result of the rise in prices, and the worsening of the quality of goods during Hitler's rule are slurred over in every way by official German statistics, but are stressed by all foreign correspondents. Thus, for example, the *Neue Zurichezeitung* wrote the following in a New Year's articles:

"At the present time in Germany one can hardly purchase more goods with the mark, even though it be not devaluated, than in Switzerland with a devaluated franc: in other words, the purchasing power of the mark is approximately 57 pfennigs."

This is confirmed by the fact that foreigners can purchase railway tickets at a reduction of 40 per cent if they pay in foreign currency.

### THE CONDITION OF THE WORKING CLASS

In his speech Hitler gives a detailed table of the increase in output in various branches of industry, and many figures regarding the visits of workers to theaters and cinemas,* about excursions, etc. But he avoids giving any concrete figures whatsoever regarding the real wages of workers, regarding their standard of living.

But it is difficult to hide the fact from the masses that the real wages of the workers have fallen considerably as a result of the rule of the fascists.

This reduction in wages has taken place in various ways.

A. Money wages have been reduced.

*Average Hourly Wage Rates (taking 1929 as 100)**

| | |
|---|---|
| 1932 | 86.2 |
| 1933 | 83.6 |
| 1934 | 83.5 |
| 1936 | 83.5 |

* *Statistical Annual* for 1937.

Thus, the hourly wage rate, even according to fascist figures, has fallen by almost 3 per cent between 1932 and 1936.

Since the reduction of the hourly wage rate has been accompanied by an increase in the number of hours worked per week, the weekly wage has fallen to a lesser degree than the hourly wage. But, for certain categories of workers employed in industry producing means of consumption, the weekly wage also fails to reach the level existing prior to the seizure of power by Hitler.

Thus, for example, the average weekly wage in the textile industry in September, 1933, was 26.86 marks (the average

* All these figures have been inflated for purposes of propaganda, and to produce a bigger effect are given for the whole year. If you say that 22,100,000 people visited theaters, or that 18,600,000 people attended cinemas controlled by the "Department of National Education," this sounds fine. But there are 20,000,000 eligible for sick benefits in Germany. Therefore, we get the figure of one visit to a theater and one visit to a cinema per annum!

figure for the year) and 23.34 marks in 1936.

In the boot and shoe industry the average figure in March, 1932, was 28.84 marks, while the average for 1936 was 27.65 marks.*

B. All these figures relate to the nominal money wage. In no place is any statement given of exactly what the worker receives after all subscriptions and compulsory contributions have been deducted. But there can be no doubt that the total amount of deductions is considerably higher than in 1932.

C. The decisive role in reducing the standard of living of the German worker is the increase in the cost of living. In his speech, Hitler asserts that the cost of living had increased from 120.6 in 1932 to 125.1 in 1937, 4 per cent in all. But there can be no doubt that the actual increase in the cost of living is many times higher. The deception to which the fascists resort in calculating the cost of living in Germany is a double one. On the one hand, for purposes of calculation they take only fixed, official prices of food and other products. But as everybody knows, the population can only cover part of their needs by the products that are sold according to official, fixed prices, and that they have to pay higher prices for part of the products they need. The table quoted above regarding the consumption per head of the most important types of food products shows that the population of Germany is now receiving less nourishment than before the seizure of power by the fascists.

That the material conditions of the masses have been worsened is also shown by the decline in the quality of commodities as a result of the consumption of substitutes. Thus, for example, in 1934 the woolen industry had 95,000 tons of natural wool at its disposal and 20,000 tons of woolen waste (made up of woolen rags). In 1936, it only possessed 62,000 tons of natural wool and was compelled to make use of 45,000 tons of rags. Since pure wool is employed for export goods and for the production of cloth for military purposes, it is clear that the "woolen products" sold to the German civil population are mainly made out of waste. The quality of the cloth sold on the home market grows steadily worse. The same is true of all other products. This decline in quality is not taken account of in calculating the cost of living index.

D. The intensity of labor under the fascist regime has been very much increased.

The statistical data for varied branches of industry show that a relatively smaller number of workers are now compelled to produce a greater number of commodities, by means of intensive exploitation.

On the whole, the change in the conditions of the working class under the rule of the fascists can be characterized as follows: In 1937, approximately six million more workers were employed than in 1932. Their working day was longer and exploitation more intense. And despite this, the real wages of the workers had fallen, while the real income of the working class a whole in 1937 was not higher than the income in the year 1933, the year when the crisis was at its worst.

All this goes to prove that there has been a considerable increase under Hitler in the exploitation of the working class and in the plundering of the peasantry and urban petty bourgeoisie.

### THE SEEMING ABOLITION OF UNEMPLOYMENT IN GERMANY

A splendid example of Hitlerite demagogy is the assertion that fascism has done away with unemployment in Germany. But even if we judge from fascist statistical data, there can be no question of unemployment having been abolished in Germany.

It is difficult to give the exact unemployed figures in Germany. But if we compare various data from official sources (the statistics of sickness insurance societies, the number of employment books issued, etc.) the fact can

* *Economy and Statistics*, No. 14, 936, and No. 20, 1937, and the *Economic Statistical Handbook*, p. 96, 1936.

be established that there are no less than two million unemployed in Germany.

This would seem to contradict the constant complaint about the shortage of labor power in Germany. But the contradiction is a purely seeming one. A similar situation existed a year ago in the U.S.A., when there were between five and six million unemployed and yet, in spite of this, there was a shortage of skilled labor. In Germany, as well, the main complaint is regarding the shortage of only definite categories of skilled workers. On the average about 5 per cent of the skilled workers fall out annually as a result of sickness, old age and death. During the crisis years the number of new skilled workers trained was lower than usual. The tremendous development of the war industry in Germany considerably increased the demand by the metal and engineering industries for skilled labor. The existence of an army of unemployed numbering several millions does not, therefore, in the conditions of the capitalist system, exclude a shortage of skilled labor.

* * *

The attempt made by Hitler to pile up a mass of exaggerated and falsified figures so as to create the impression that the fascist regime has reached economic prosperity and an improvement in the conditions of the working people has completely fallen through. The stage-managing of fascist statistics still leaves much to be desired.

It is sufficient to take any of the figures quoted by Hitler, to compare them with figures taken from other official fascist sources, for one to become convinced how groundless is Hitler's demagogy. The colossal armaments swallow up considerably more than the slight increase in production that there is as compared with the pre-fascist years. Hence, there is to be noted the wearing out and deterioration of the machinery of production with the exception of the war industry.*

Everybody knows that raw material reserves are being used up, that factories are more and more frequently compelled to stop work because of the shortage of raw materials, and that home raw materials are used in an extremely rapacious fashion. Thus, for example, it is a known fact that a far bigger percentage of trees is cut down in German forests than is permitted by rational forestry.

In Germany not only is there no economic boom, as Hitler demagogically tries to picture matters, but, on the contrary, all that is taking place is the ruining of German economy as a result of the intense armament construction and the growing impoverishment of the masses of the people.

The demagogic inflation of economic statistical data in Hitler's speech was designed primarily to deceive the Austrian people, long threatened with the fate of the German people; the German working people have learned from their own experience what the Hitler regime has brought them. They are not to be tricked. But Hitler's demagogy did not produce the required effect on the working people of Austria either. Hitler foresaw that the plebiscite proposed by Schuschnigg on the question of union with Germany would show a tremendous majority of votes against Hitler fascism. That is why he decided to avoid the plebiscite by employing the forces of his fascist weapons.

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* The deterioration of the machinery of production is particularly clearly marked on the railways. Huge railway stations are built with a view to being able to carry through the future mobilization without a hitch, but rolling stock is renewed to only an inconsiderable degree. It is now a usual thing for trains to be late, while railway accidents are far more frequent than before Hitler's advent to power.

# The Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of France

BY JACQUES DUCLOS

THE Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of France took place between December 25 and 29. The agenda included the following questions:

1. France of the People's Front—A Land of Progress and Liberty. Reporter: Maurice Thorez.

2. The Healing of the Split, and Working Class Unity. Reporter: Jacques Duclos.

3. The Obligations of the People's Front to the French Peasantry: Reporter: Renaud Jean.

4. The Great Communist Family. Reporter: Marcel Gitton.

The agenda of the congress reflected the untiring work of the Communist Party to strengthen the unity of the People's Front so near to the hearts of the wide masses of the French working people.

By supporting the People's Front, of which the Communist Party was the initiator, the working masses of France wished to bar the way to fascism and to bring about the triumph of a policy that corresponded to the interests of the people. In voting for the People's Front, the French people strove to put an end to the criminal policy of Laval, who encouraged fascist intrigues within the country and became the accomplice of Mussolini in the conquest of Ethiopia, who carried through the policy of deflation, expressed in wage-cuts, reduced unemployment benefits and old-age pensions.

After numerous by-elections the cantonal elections in October, 1937, once again stressed the devotion of the working masses to the People's Front that had brought the masses incomparably better conditions of existence, materially and morally, and had strengthened among the working people the consciousness of their own dignity and strength. But precisely because of the profound devotion of the working masses of France to the People's Front, the reactionaries resort to all possible means to disrupt the People's Front that is preventing them from carrying through the policy of violence and oppression.

The period preceding the congress was marked by a series of events that stressed the activity of the forces of reaction, and the striving of big capital to destroy the social achievements of the People's Front; at the same time French and international finance capital resorted to intense speculative maneuvers toward the same end.

In June, 1937, the government headed by Leon Blum resigned without waiting for a Senate vote, the excuse being that its financial policy, one that corresponded very little to the program of the People's Front, had been subjected to attack by Parliament. The Chautemps government that followed it in its turn carried through a financial policy that was far from being the one the country expected of it. And in actual fact the Minister of Finance in this government placed new burdens of taxation on the country that dealt far heavier blows at the working people than at big capital. This is proved by the following table showing

the distribution of additional taxation receipts (in percentages):

| | |
|---|---|
| Direct taxes | 13 |
| Taxation on Movable Property | 16 |
| Taxes on Exchange Operations | 1 |
| Various indirect taxes affecting the wide mass of consumers | 70 |

The rate of exchange of the franc was 76.78 per pound sterling in September, 1936; in the subsequent months it reached 105.15, as a result of the devaluation carried through by the Leon Blum government; it fell again immediately after the formation of the Chautemps government. Georges Bonnet, the Minister of Finances, made use of the financial powers received from parliament to proceed to new devaluation measures according to the theory of the "franc flottant" (floating franc), as a result the rate of exchange of the franc was reduced to 130.46 in August and to 147 in December.*

At the same time there was a considerable rise in the cost of living. The index of retail prices in Paris, calculated on the basis of 34 kinds of products (taking 1914 as 100), increased from 590 in June, 1937, to 657 in October, and 676 in December, 1937. In these conditions particularly great importance was attached to the problem of increasing wages.

The working people had won the 40-hour week, collective agreements, holidays with pay and considerable wage increases under the banner of the People's Front. They had witnessed increasing attacks by the big capitalists who were not hesitating to organize the sabotage of production. The hatred felt for the People's Front by the capitalist oligarchy was expressed in the mass export of capital, although the economic situation in France demanded the investment of new capital in various branches of industry.

When parliament renewed its work in November, 1937, a debate began on increased salaries for civil servants. The increase granted was lower than the amount demanded by the trade union organizations, whose calculations were based on indices of increased prices.

In private industry, food, chemicals (the Goodrich Works) and in transport, conflicts took place between the workers and employers in connection with the unjust decisions of the arbitration courts, which had granted wage increases after great delay, and considerably below what the price index showed. In addition there were frequent cases of workers' delegates being arbitrarily dismissed by the big employers. Thus the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of France took place at a moment when increasing attacks were being made on the standards of living of the working people, and on their trade union rights which had become particularly dear to the working people with the growth of the membership—now over five million—and influence of the C.G.T. (the General Confederation of Labor).

The exposure of the "Cagoulard"* plot directed against the people gave rise to natural indignation among the masses of the people when they learned that stores of arms, of German and Italian make, had been established under the leadership of General Dusseigneur and other prominent people arrested by the police.** It became absolutely clear that the defense of the economic demands of the working people, like the defense of their liberties against the fascist provocateurs, could only be solved by putting the program of the People's Front into operation. The working class understood that it was impossible to separate the "Cagoulard" plot from the campaign of incitement conducted by the big employers such as Gignoux, chairman of the General Federation of French Employers.

In November and December the fascist press raised a howl about forthcom-

* In the middle of March, 1938, the rate of exchange of the franc fell to 161.50 per pound sterling.—*Ed.*

* The "Hooded Ones."—*Ed.*

** At the beginning of March, 1938, the Chautemps government released Generals Dusseigneur and Pozzo di Borgo from prison despite the direct proof of their participation in the plot.—*Ed.*

ing "putsches" allegedly being prepared by the Communists. The aim of this campaign was the absolutely clear one of wrecking the unity of the People's Front and of diverting the attention of the public from the preparations for civil war being made by the fascist organizations.

In the sphere of foreign policy, the French people, in the period directly preceding the Congress, were disturbed by the following two facts.

On the one hand the masses of the people were justly alarmed at Mussolini's visit to Germany, which confirmed the fact that the "totalitarian" states wish to force their will on the world and to ensure the domination of fascism in all countries. On the other hand, the visit of Delbos to a number of European capitals did not produce the results expected for guaranteeing peace on the basis of collective security, an example and model of which, as stated in the program of the People's Front, is the Franco-Soviet pact.

Mussolini's journey to Berlin and his loudly proclaimed statement that "Europe will be fascist tomorrow" also gave rise to understandable alarm among the masses of the French people. The aggressive policy of the fascist countries became increasingly brazen, in so far as the so-called policy of non-intervention, of which the first Leon Blum government was the initiator, freed the hands of Hitler and Mussolini in Spain, thereby encouraging them to carry through their plan of forcing fascism on the world.

* * *

The Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of France was a reflection of the cares and strivings of the working people of our country, of their desire for unity. The Congress of the Communist Party took place in the ancient town of Arles, which is filled with reminiscences of the old Romanic civilization; its keynote was the enthusiasm and fullest confidence of the French people in our Party.

In January, 1936, at the time of the Villeurbanne Congress, the Party had 86,902 members. At the Arles Congress the Party was able to report a membership of 341,000. The population of Arles took part in the demonstrations organized on the occasion of the congress, as in a great national holiday. The people of Arles were invited to an exhibition of brilliant examples of the work of handicraft workers and factory workers of the various provinces of France. During the Congress the Communists organized a festival and the distribution of toys for the children of Arles.

In a speech delivered at the opening of the Congress, Marcel Cachin called for the strengthening of the unity of the People's Front in defense of liberty, against fascism and for the maintenance of peace now threatened by danger. He called for solidarity with Republican Spain, greeted the Spanish people, soon to be the victors throughout Spain, and also greeted the Chinese people engaged in the struggle against their enemies, the Japanese aggressor. It is impossible to describe the enthusiasm that met the mention of the name of our great Comrade Stalin, when he was elected to the honorary presidium of the Congress. In this way, before setting to work, the Congress expressed its love and devotion to the leader of the world proletariat, and thereby confirmed its devotion to the huge country where socialism has achieved victory under the leadership of the great Party of Lenin-Stalin.

In sending its hearty greetings to the Spanish Republic and to Comrade Thaelmann, the Congress expressed its solidarity with the heroic Spanish people engaged in resisting the attacks of the fascist aggressors, and with the revolutionary proletariat of Germany, the victims of persecution by Hitler, just as the Italian people are the victims of persecution by Mussolini. The manifestations of proletarian internationalism reached their highest point when the Congress, full of enthusiasm, unanimously gave greetings to the immortal creator of the most democratic constitution in the world, Comrade Stalin.

The greetings of the Congress to Comrade Dimitroff expressed the feelings of the Congress: the unswerving devotion

of the French Party to our glorious Communist International.

In the person of Andre Marty, the Congress greeted the volunteer fighters for liberty, who have gone to Spain from all countries, ready to lay down their lives to save world peace.

The Congress expressed sympathy with those participating in the strike going on in the Paris district, thus confirming its solidarity with the workers engaged in the struggle for bread, for their trade union rights, against the maneuvers of the capitalist oligarchy.

On learning that a strike of municipal employees had broken out in Paris, the Congress expressed its solidarity with the strikers, thereby proving its desire to assist them in achieving victory.

In his brilliant report to the Congress, Maurice Thorez, General Secretary of the Party, dealt with the international tasks facing France of the People's Front. He reminded the Congress of the efforts of the Communist Party to rally the forces of the people of France, and showed the heinous activity of the capitalist oligarchy. He then stressed the point that finance capital was striving to drive France into a slavery like that in existence in the fascist countries.

He showed all the achievements of the People's Front. Painting a picture of the improvement in the conditions of the working masses of France, Maurice Thorez showed how worse off were the working people of Germany and Italy, and then came to the following conclusion:

"The working people of the Soviet Union are, of course, incomparably better off for the simple reason that the capitalist system of economy and exploiting classes have been abolished forever there, while the private ownership of the instruments and means of production has been abolished, and the land belongs to the working people. . . . In general, however, we can say that life in France has become freer than it was formerly."

Recalling the progressive role played by France throughout its history, and stressing the influence of the French People's Front over the working masses of various countries, the reporter outlined the basis of an active peace policy corresponding to the program of the People's Front, a policy that would muster the forces of peace throughout the world for a struggle against the warmakers in Rome and Berlin, and against their agents in the various countries.

Maurice Thorez then showed the need for the unity of the People's Front in order to secure the carrying out of its program, and insisted on the "policy of the outstretched hand" toward Catholic working people who are interested in carrying on a struggle alongside their Communist, Socialist and Radical brothers against the common enemies of the working people, on the need for working class unity, a unity for which the working people are thirsting and waiting.

"*To defeat fascism, to save the working class, by saving democracy and peace,*" that was how the reporter formulated the most important tasks of the moment. And further in the concluding part of the speech, Comrade Thorez said:

"The fruitful results for our people, past and present, of the policy of unity, and of the initiative repeatedly displayed by our Communist Party are the guarantee of success of tomorrow.

"We have preached and pursued an undoubtedly *correct* and *fruitful* policy, the only correct one, the only one that has provided the working people of our country with new advantages, and has inspired them with faith and hope in the future.

"For we are fighting for the *future.* We are preparing the future. We shall never leave out of account the following thought expressed in *The Communist Manifesto* of Marx and Engels:

" 'The Communists fight for the attainment of the immediate aims, for the enforcement of the momentary interests of the working class; but in the movement of the present, they also represent and take care of the future of that movement.'*

" 'Utopia,' cried the capitalist exploiters and their ideologists to our fathers and grandfathers, the pioneers of socialism. . . .

" 'Reality' is the reply of 170,000,000

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* *The Communist Manifesto*, p. 43, International Publishers, New York.

men and women of the great land of victorious socialism.

"The new socialist Constitution 'will be a document,' said Stalin at the Eighth All-Union Congress of the Soviets, 'testifying to the fact that what was and is the dream of millions of honest people in the capitalist countries has already been brought into being in the U.S.S.R.

" 'It will be a document testifying to the fact that what has been brought into being in the U.S.S.R. can fully be achieved in other countries, too.'

"The Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin has made today's reality out of yesterday's dreams about socialism.

"Lenin, Stalin, the Bolsheviks were able to gather inspiration from the glorious example of our Paris Commune."

Duclos' report on "The Healing of the Split, and Working Class Unity," began by calling to mind the efforts of the working class to bring about unity and win victory over all the maneuvers of the enemies of the People's Front and the saboteurs of unity.

Reminding the Congress of the circumstances of the split at the Tours Congress, and stressing the consequences of the policy of the Labor and Socialist International during the imperialist war of 1914-18, the reporter enumerated all the attempts made to establish united action, all the proposals made by both the Communist International and the French Communist Party, proposals that frequently remained unanswered and met with refusals from the Socialist Party right until the February events in 1934.

The speaker further dealt with the way in which a number of obstacles were overcome in the development of united action with the Socialist Party in 1934 and how the Socialist Party leadership placed numérous obstacles in the way of unity, in the effort to prevent a united party being established, and, finally, how the permanent administrative commission of the Socialist Party, by its decision of November 24, 1937, broke off the unity negotiations with the Communist Party of France. As is known, the formal excuse for the breaking off of negotiations was nothing other than Comrade Dimitroff's article* in which he showed what an influence on the development of fascism had been exerted by the splitting policy inherent in Social-Democratism.

The reporter made an analysis of the German events preceding the seizure of power by Hitler, and on this basis proved the justice of Comrade Dimitroff's assertions, and the lying character of the arguments put forward by the opponents of unity; the reporter insisted on the need for energetic action by the masses in order rapidly to bring unity about in the interests of an effective struggle in defense of bread, liberty and peace.

Comrade Renaud Jean's report, on "The Obligations of the People's Front to the French Peasantry," summed up the results of what had been done for the peasants after the victory of the People's Front. The reporter stressed the point that the peasants were expecting reforms, particularly the introduction of insurance against natural calamities, the application to the countryside of the law regarding benefits for large families and that the Communists are in duty bound to demand the rapid application of these reforms.

The last report on the agenda was that of Marcel Gitton on "The Great Communist Family."

Gitton drew a picture of the successes won by the Party, showed the profound unity of the Party, the absence of political differences, stressed its democratic spirit and dwelt in particular detail on the need for training the Party's forces.

The reporter spoke of the love that Communists must feel for their work, if they are to be capable of serving the cause of the working class and the Communist Party.

A statement was given in this report of the organizational tasks facing the Party, both in the sphere of training and organization, and from the point of view of raising vigilance. The correct selecting

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* Georgi Dimitroff, "The Soviet Union and the Working Class of the Capitalist Countries," *The Communist International*, No. 12, 1937.

of cadres, with a view to successfully carrying out our policy, the great policy of unity of the French people, was stressed.

To show the atmosphere in which the Congress took place reference must be made to the profound enthusiasm of the 1,123 delegates, and to the long line of delegations that came to greet the Congress.

It was in an atmosphere of indescribable enthusiasm that Maurice Thorez delivered his concluding speech that was broadcast and heard by many thousands of people.

The General Secretary of our Party summed up in the following way the great lesson of unity advanced by the Congress in Arles:

"The Ninth Congress of the Communist Party was a congress of the unity of our people. It is with joy that we note the successful results of our policy of the 'outstretched hand' towards the Catholic and Christian working people, our brothers. . . .

"And so, comrades, be persistent in making proposals to Catholics and Christions about participation in mutual aid committees, collaboration in People's Front Committees, about working in the ranks of the common front for peace and joining the C.G.T. unions, so as to bring about trade union unity.

"Our Congress was one of struggle for unity of the working class and of the People's Front, a unity necessary now more than ever before. More than ever before are we striving to strengthen the bonds of united action between Communists and Socialists, more than ever before are we striving to establish a united working class party, more than ever before do we call on Communists and Socialists to join forces in the factories and in the villages."

Thus the Congress at Arles gave the Communists instructions to struggle for the unity of the People's Front, for the carrying through of its program in all spheres, for working class unity, and for the strengthening of the Communist Party, the great unity Party. These instructions were a necessary reply to all the maneuvers calculated to split the People's Front, the reply to all the attempts to set the People's Front against the just demands of the working masses.

The discussion on the reports testified to the profound ideological unity of the Congress and to the living unity of the Party, as confirmed by the delegates of the various districts in their speeches from the Congress rostrum.

The efforts of French big capital to split the People's Front are shared by big capital internationally, which sees a dangerous example in the experience of the People's Front in France, which is capable of finding an echo abroad, too. It is no secret that the fascists of Berlin and Rome hate the French People's Front, and are eager to disrupt it. Big business in England is also hostile to the alliance between the working class and the middle classes of France, an alliance that our Party helped to bring about when it took the initiative in establishing the People's Front of struggle for bread, for liberty and peace.

It is in this light that the real explanation of the recent ministerial crisis,* in which the bankers of the City of London did not hesitate to intervene, becomes clear. In the hands of the latter, financial assistance serves as a means of pressure on the policy of governments that turn to it. As is well known France is far from being free of financial cares. Important reforms such as old-age pensions, increased unemployment benefits, etc., although included in the program of the People's Front, have not yet been realized. These reforms have been postponed on the excuse that funds are lacking, but the government did not take the necessary steps to tax the big capitalists, a measure that would have provided the government with the necessary resources.

The program of the People's Front has become an extreme hindrance to the

* The point referred to here is the first crisis of the Chautemps government in January, 1938, when the Cabinet under the pressure of reaction had to resign. After this, Chautemps formed a new government in which the Socialists did not take part. This government existed from January 19 to March 10.

enemies of the people: it serves as a constant reminder of promises made to the country and not yet fulfilled. It is clear that as far as they are concerned the best means of putting an end to this program is to split the People's Front.

The efforts of the reactionaries to bring about the split of the People's Front have played a considerable role in the Ministerial crises in France in the last two years. But the people of France wanted and now want a stable government of the People's Front.

The answer to be given to the splitting maneuvers, to all the efforts to divide the forces of peace and liberty, is to consolidate the People's Front, the best defender of which is the Communist Party. The Communist Party considers that People's Front Committees, open to all working people, should be established everywhere, and fraternal bonds strengthened between all groupings and organizations that took the oath of July 14. No organizational form must be neglected, either in the unemployed committees uniting the masses of workers thrown out of industry, or in the Committees of the Universal Struggle for Peace where there is a place for Catholic working people as well; the guiding principle for Communists everywhere is their single desire to serve the great cause of the people.

Our Party is profoundly devoted to the principle of democracy, and greets such manifestations of unity, for the People's Front exists not only in parliament; it exists in the factories and workshops, in the offices and department stores, in the towns and in the most distant villages —wherever there are people who work, suffer and hope.

The People's Front is necessary for the defense of the bread of the working people against the attacks of big capital.

It is necessary for the defense of liberty against the plotters in the service of fascism.

It is necessary for the defense of peace against the executioners of Republican Spain who are striving to put an end to it in order to continue their plans of aggression in other parts.

It is necessary so as to stop the hand of the criminals who are murdering women and children, bombarding defenseless towns of Republican Spain.

It is necessary so as to demand of the French government an active peace policy capable of mustering all the democratic nations for common resistance to the one to blame for war—fascism.

It is necessary so as to put an end to the policy of capitulation begun by Laval and Flandin, and the so-called policy of non-intervention that freed the hand of Hitler and Mussolini in Spain, to the policy of inaction which places China at the mercy of the Japanese aggressor.

It is necessary so as to rescue other countries from the fate of China, Spain and Austria.

It is necessary for the defense of peace, the main buttress of which throughout the world is the Soviet Union.

It is necessary so that the people of France may be able to offer victorious resistance to the attacks of the enemies of the people, so that it may be able to advance along the road of progress and liberty, along the road towards its liberation.

# Toward the People's Front in Canada

BY TIM BUCK

THE crisis that began in the United States in the early fall of 1937 did not immediately affect Canadian industry. By December, however, the situation had changed.

The chairman of the Royal Bank of Canada acknowledged in his annual report that: "It is difficult for businessmen to be optimistic when conditions are unsettled in the United States." Stock market prices have tumbled, sharp declines have taken place in commodity prices, cutting has stopped in the great lumber camps of the Pacific Coast and all signs now point toward a sharp economic decline.

### THE DIFFERENTIATION OF CLASS FORCES IN CANADA

The Eighth National Convention of the Communist Party of Canada, held in October, 1937, emphasized three features of the present political situation.

1. The developing forces and strengthening trend toward a People's Front.

2. The dangerous growth of reaction with a strengthening drive toward reactionary concentration, and marked growth of open fascist organizations.

3. A developing process of differentiation and the beginning of realignment within the capitalist political parties.

All these factors developed steadily; and after October, 1937, under the present King government, class differentiation has proceeded rapidly.

The rise of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (C.C.F.), the Social Credit Movement (the Province of Alberta is governed by a Social Credit Government), the rapid growth of the Communist Party, farm organizations and the trade union movement, all manifested the growing dissatisfaction of progressive people. Against this development is to be seen an energetic striving for the consolidation of all reactionary forces around a program of defense of the interests of the most reactionary circles of finance capital with systematic advocacy of a "National Government."

At the present time there is a marked growth of open fascist organizations, particularly in Quebec. Fascist organizations have recently united under unified national leadership.

The pro-fascist alliance between Hepburn and Duplessis* also marks a new significant stage in the drive toward a national center of reactionary concentration. It unites the premiers of the two provinces which embrace more than 55 per cent of the total population and brings the powerful Ontario Liberal organizations into their reactionary pro-fascist camp. All the reactionary forces favor handing the publicly-owned "Canadian Pacific Railways" system over to the privately-owned Canadian Pacific Railway. They are agreed in opposition to democratization of Canada's constitution. They are agreed in their proposals to reduce expenditures on social services, unemployment and so so. They all advocate support for the pro-fascist policies of the Chamberlain government, they all

* Hepburn is a renegade from the Liberal Party, head of the government of Ontario Province; Duplessis—violently pro-fascist premier of the Province of Quebec.—*T. B.*

assert that Hitler and Mussolini are striving for peace, favor economic nationalism and increased military expenditures and call for a "Union Coalition Government."

In Canada, the two traditional parties —Liberal and Conservative—have yielded place to the two camps of progress and reaction.

### FOR THE UNITED AND PEOPLE'S FRONT

The line of the reactionary camp is meeting with growing resistance. The marked growth of trade union organization and strike struggles in 1937 was accompanied by a strengthening of the progressive trend within the trade union movement manifesting itself in the public utterances and actions of the Trades Congress leadership. Unity of the C.I.O. and A. F. of L. unions has been maintained within the Trades Congress and its Convention refused to extend the split into Canada. With resolutions against the menace of fascism and war, the convention urged local unions to unite for political action in local Labor Representation Associations. The labor progressive movement registered somewhat marked successes in municipal elections held throughout the country during November and December, 1937, and these have in turn stimulated the development of labor unity.

A new and very significant feature is to be seen in the rising militancy of the French-Canadian workers organized in Catholic Syndicates. They engaged in a series of important strikes, including the largest strike to take place in Canada, and in several of the heavy industries, and initiated the first step toward improved relationship between the Catholic Syndicates and the international unions.

Besides certain successes in establishing working class unity of action, tendencies are developing in Canada for the establishment of the united and People's Front of struggle against reaction and fascism.

The main forces for a People's Front in Canada are represented by the Communist Party, the trade union movement, the C.C.F., the progressive wing of the Social Credit Movement, farmers' organizations, reform Liberals, local Labor Parties, the forces mobilized around the League for Peace and Democracy and the widespread and growing peace movement, the active movement for defense of Spanish democracy, the broad movement led by the Civil Liberties Union against Duplessis' Padlock Law * and a growing progressive wing in the nonconformist church (United Church of Canada). The leadership of these organizations, moreover, were publicly antagonistic to the Communist Party and the united front and were able for a considerable time to prevent even the beginning of joint action.

Despite this the Communist Party worked steadfastly to bring about the united front, in the course of the election campaigns and systematically to strengthen its work in the elective organs, particularly the municipal bodies. Study of municipal problems was urged upon local Party organizations and members. Every need and interest of the people was studied carefully and, combined with the general demands which are of Dominion-wide application, concrete programs concerning municipal taxation, debts, transportation, relief, child welfare service, education, interest rates, and protection for small homeowners, etc., were worked out and popularized in the various localities.

Communist gains in the sphere of municipal government during the past three years are the best evidence of the response of the workers and middle class people. Further, and even more gratifying, evidence that the people will support fighting representatives is to be seen in the fact that Communist representatives have been steadily re-elected and the most significant gains are being made in and nearby those cities where Communists have already gained seats.

The growing influence of the Communist Party at the elections and in the municipalities has stimulated the progressive organizations to take the path

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* Giving the police powers to close down premises of political organizations on suspicion.—*Ed.*

of the united front with the Communists. The only condition set by the Party for such local united front efforts was that they should be joint actions in the interests of the people against the most reactionary circle of finance capital and against the sharpening menace of fascism and war. The results achieved to date are extremely modest but they represent a significant step forward in that they mark the overcoming of resistance to any development of the united front from the top leaders of the most important Socialist and farmers' organizations.

The beginning of cooperation between the Communist Party and the C.C.F. on a national scale marked a very important stage in the development of a united front and toward anti-fascist people's unity in 1937. This cooperation was manifested in joint equal participation in the leadership of the movement for defense of Spanish democracy, collaboration in the wide, popular Canadian Youth Congress movement, collaboration in defense of civil liberties in Quebec, and has been further emphasized by the "New Year Message" of M. J. Coldwell, National Chairman of the C.C.F., in which he stated quite bluntly that progressive people will probably have to:

". . . reconsider our position in relation to political tactics and political programs. . . . The problem of 1938 will be to unite the democratic forces in Canada for the defense of such liberties as we already have and to extend them into the wider sphere of economic and social relationships."

The beginning of national cooperation has aided the continued growth of local united front agreements and actions between the Communist Party and local C.C.F. organizations which found their highest expression in mutual participation in some of the local Labor Representation Associations and in Communist-C.C.F. united front action during the recent municipal elections.

Cooperation between Communists, trade unions, local C.C.F. organizations, farm organizations and the Social Credit Movement, has created a favorable basis for the developing People's Front movement to which increasing numbers of genuine Liberals are now giving a measure of support. Outstanding evidence of the developing sentiment for people's unity against reaction, fascism and war was provided by the main resolution adopted at the recent convention of the Edson District of the Social Credit League, which declared in part:

"Only unity of all democratic groups and increased activity by the labor movement, both in a political and economic way, can block the plans of reaction and greed.

"A united people's movement based upon strong unions and farm organizations and backed by the will of the people is our only guarantee that we will gain our burning needs and block reaction in this province. . . ."

Numerous similar examples could be quoted. The Provincial Legislatures of Manitoba and Alberta have adopted resolutions condemning the fascist aggression of Japanese militarism in China, the National Council of the United Church of Canada adopted a resolution urging government action and pledging whole-hearted support to a boycott of Japanese goods and the stopping of exports to Japan. The call of the League for Peace and Democracy for a boycott against Japanese goods is supported by the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada and numerous other important organizations and, in connection with domestic policies, an increasing number of important members of the Liberal Party are giving public support to the struggle of the Civil Liberties Union against the Duplessis Padlock Law, and associating themselves publicly with the general sentiment in favor of anti-fascist action on the part of the people.

### THE CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUE

One of the most important issues around which differentiation is developing within the capitalist parties is that of the urgently needed revision of Canada's Constitution. The present Constitution is the "British North America Act," enacted by the English House of

Commons in 1867 and given to the new Confederation of Canadian Colonies. At that time they were isolated colonial settlements with scarcely any industrial development or means of communication with each other. Settlements of importance extended only as far as Ontario. Beyond the north shore of Lake Ontario and Lake Erie the whole vast country was a virgin wilderness which few white men had seen.

The B.N.A. Act was drafted to satisfy the demands of the small but dominant groups of privileged interests in each of the provinces at that time. Today, with Canadian economy one of the most highly concentrated in the world, with enormous accumulated riches and control of industry concentrated in the hands of less than a hundred rich and powerful financiers in the two principal cities, the B.N.A. has become an obstruction to legislative progress and one of the most valuable instruments of the most reactionary circles of finance capital against the people. It prevents the Dominion government enacting social legislation applicable to the country as a whole. It prevents Dominion regulation of trade and commerce. It permits the Dominion government to collect income taxes, but prohibits it from establishing unemployment or health insurance schemes to which employers would have to contribute. It authorizes the Dominion government to tax imports coming into any province, but prevents the Dominion government from fulfilling—by its own authority—obligations assumed in connection with the labor covenant of the League of Nations. It causes duplication and confusion in legislation and provides a never failing excuse for inaction on the part of the Dominion Prime Ministers and has been particularly useful to the evasive Mackenzie King.

The issue of constitutional reform has been brought to a head by the crisis. A Royal Commission is now investigating the whole problem. Its report will be the subject of violent political controversy and probably of an election. The most reactionary circles of finance capital would prefer that the B.N.A. be left as it is. But the labor progressive movement and an increasing number of people in both the capitalist parties are strongly in favor of far-reaching constitutional reform: maintaining the cultural guarantees of the French-Canadian people, provincial control of civil rights and education, etc., but placing responsibility for social legislation, regulation of trade and industry, transportation and enforcement of conditions required by international treaties and relationships, upon the Dominion government. The issues involved are of basic importance in the economic life of Canada and mirror the whole bitter struggle now rapidly sharpening between the people and the ruthless exploiting monopoly interests. The need for a new democratic constitution is one of the central issues around which are gradually rallying the forces for the People's Front against reaction, fascism and war.

### OPPONENTS OF ANTI-FASCIST PEOPLE'S FRONT UNITY

Opposition to the united front has been bitter and stubborn. For a long time the top leadership of the C.C.E. fought successfully against each and every proposal for joint action, even upon local issues. While the broad masses of farmers are against monopoly capital and want to fight against its ruthless exploitation and the pro-fascist schemes of the most reactionary circles of finance capital, many of their leaders fight actively against the People's Front. The leadership of the Catholic unions has systematically opposed any development of united front action as part of the general, bitter, anti-Communist campaign of the Catholic hierarchy.

The most serious opposition to the united and People's Front, however, came from the Trotskyites and Trotskyite dupes. While they no longer maintain an open organization or any Canadian press these vile fascist agents continue their anti-Soviet and anti-working class activities in the disguise of "Left" C.C.F.'ers and so on. One of the most dangerous manifestations of Trotskyite activity in Canada today is precisely that large numbers of people, who would

energetically deny being Trotskyites or having any sympathy with Trotskyism, seize upon Trotskyite arguments against the united front and against the People's Front, against loyalist Spain and against the People's Front of France, against the Soviet Union and against the Communist Party of Canada as a means of expressing their own antagonism to the idea of uniting the people for active struggle against the advancing threat of fascist reaction and war. For some time elements of this type dominated important parts of the C.C.F. organization. They still dominate in some sections of the C.C.F. and are the most bitter and unscrupulous opponents of all proposals for united action.

The handful of cynical Trotskyite adventurers are today the most dangerous enemies of the common people of Canada. In the service of the Duplessis-Hepburn pro-fascist alliance they fight against the development of the united front of the working people. In the service of fascism they fight against loyalist Spain and its people and against support of Spanish democracy. In the service of Hepburn these elements fought to prevent unity of labor-progressive forces during the recent provincial elections, and, in the service of the war-makers these agents of fascism strive to weaken and disrupt the peace movement, advocating "isolation" although it becomes increasingly clear that isolationist propaganda is a mask behind which the fascist-minded leaders of the most reactionary wing of finance capital prepare to involve Canada more and more deeply in the imperialist schemes of Chamberlain and in plans for reactionary imperialist war.

### THE PEOPLE OF CANADA ARE FOR PEACE

Development of a broad active peace movement is an essential factor for the building of the anti-fascist People's Front in Canada. The majority of the Canadian people are opposed to Canada becoming a party to any policy which might endanger peace. In this respect the administration of Mackenzie King has been only a little less unsatisfactory to them than was that of the blatant imperialist Bennett.* King maneuvers to retain support from the widespread peace movement by sentimental speeches, but he conforms to the line of Downing Street on all important questions of foreign policy, and peace or war.

He repudiated the proposal for oil sanctions against Italy. His "Foreign Enlistments Act" prohibiting volunteers from going to Spain is aimed directly against democratic Spain at the behest of the most reactionary forces in Canada. At the last Imperialist Conference he declared against commitments through the League of Nations and immediately afterwards paid a friendly visit to Hitler. The Canadian delegation voted to exclude Spain from the League Council and, despite mass popular sentiment against Japanese aggression, King maintains cordial relations with the Japanese government for which Canada has become one of the most important sources of supply for the armament industry of Japan.

The people know that the Canadian government could exert an important influence upon British policy by supporting the present weak opposition to the openly treacherous policy of the Chamberlain government, and they know that the basic need in this connection is that Canada should fulfil her solemn obligations as a member of the League of Nations. There is now growing a wide popular sentiment in favor of Canada collaborating much more closely with all those countries which defend peace and this is displacing the false theory of isolationism which until recently had wide support in the reformist movement.

The peace movement is widespread but divided. One of the chief tasks of the leading organizations, particularly the League for Peace and Democracy,

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* R. B. Bennett, former Prime Minister of Canada and official leader of the Conservative Party. Since the above article was written Bennett has announced his intention to resign at the Party Convention to be held in the summer.—*Ed.*

League of Nations Society, etc., is to coordinate their activities in connection with the international peace campaign and merge all the widespread currents of opposition to the policy by which Canada is gradually being more closely involved in Chamberlain's war schemes, into a unified movement which can definitely influence Canada's foreign policy.

The King government is increasing expenditures on armaments at a rapid rate. The Canadian people know that the increase of expenditures is obviously not to strengthen Canada but in preparation for war outside of Canada itself. There is not so much opposition to the fortification of the British Columbia Coast and preparations for the defense of Vancouver Harbor as to King's practice of following slavishly at the heels of Chamberlain's cynical imperialist policy which is even now strengthening Japanese fascist militarism. All this is giving rise to a movement of protest and discontent in the country.

The breadth of the movement for the defense of Spanish democracy, the fact that the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, the United Church and dozens of other nationally important organizations had joined in the demand for the boycott of Japanese goods and the fact that more than eleven hundred Canadian boys are in Spain with the International Brigade, are evidence that Canadian anti-war sentiments are developing and freeing themselves from the isolationist errors. The task now is to draw the wide peace sentiment closer to the generally developing democratic movement as part of that broad stream of development toward an anti-fascist People's Front.

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The Eighth Convention of the Party set the following tasks before the whole Party organization: To consolidate the unity of the C.I.O. and A. F. of L. unions, establish working relationships between the "international" unions and the Catholic syndicates; develop further united front action with the C.C.F. and as soon as possible achieve a complete united front; give increasingly energetic leadership to the organization of the unorganized; build the local Labor Representation Associations; work more systematically toward united front action with the Social Credit Movement and farmers' organizations; improve and extend collaboration with the reform Liberals, extend and strengthen the mass movement for defense of Republican Spain, the Chinese people and civil liberties, and build the anti-fascist People's Front around the solid core of a united working class movement.

The political and economic situation in Canada and the course of development provide all the objective conditions for the successful achievement of these tasks. Aided by the leadership of the Communist International, by whose guidance and brilliant example the Canadian Party has been enabled to overcome its crippling sectarianism, build up its forces, win legality and gain recognition as the revolutionary vanguard unit of the working class, defending the vital interests of the Canadian people, the Communists of Canada will succeed in making Canada a valuable part of the growing world front for peace, democracy and progress.

# Ernst Thaelmann

BY V. FLORIN

FOR five long years Ernst Thaelmann, leader of the German working class, fighter against fascism and imperialist war, for freedom, peace and socialism, has languished in one of Hitler's prisons. He is kept in strict isolation, apart from the other prisoners. From time to time he is allowed, as a political prisoner, the "privilege" of a fifteen-minute walk in the prison yard together with criminals sentenced to death. Apart from these, the only people he sees are the jailers. His knowledge of the outer world is only what he gets in a fascist paper, and that only after it has been severely cut by the strict hand of the prison censor. He has been deprived of the right freely to select reading material.

During these five years millions of people have written to Ernst Thaelmann; he has received messages of greetings and letters in such numbers as have only a few people in the world. But he does not see a single line of what is written to him with the exception of the letters he receives from his wife and daughter once a month, after they have been examined and passed by the prison censor. Everything written to him is carefully concealed from him.

Ernst Thaelmann is in need of medical treatment. Hundreds of the best physicians in a great many countries have offered him their services, free of charge. But he knows nothing of this, and none of them is allowed to see him. Thousands of prominent lawyers—men and women—from bourgeois-democratic countries have declared their desire to plead the case of this fighter for peace. But he knows nothing of this. He does not even know whether he will ever be tried. First he is told that the trial has been canceled, then that it has been postponed, but he knows nothing definite officially. This means torturing the prisoner. There will apparently be no trial, for the fascists are afraid that the trial of Thaelmann may turn out to be a repetition of the Leipzig trial that ended in such a scandalous fashion for them. Thus Ernst Thaelmann is a hostage in the hands of the fascists, a prisoner of the fascist gang, of Hitler and his confederates. Hitler personally bears responsibility for the fate of his prisoners.

There is not a corner of the world where people do not speak with respect and love of that courageous anti-fascist fighter Ernst Thaelmann, whom the fascists have recently transferred from Berlin to Hanover in order to torment and torture him without hindrance.

Many workers, peasants and intellectuals in the capitalist world who instinctively sympathize with this fighter against fascism and imperialist war do not, however, know Ernst Thaelmann well enough. In order to strengthen in them the will to struggle for his release as well as for the release of all political prisoners, we give below the story of the life and struggle of this best son of the German working class.

Ernst Thaelmann was born on April 16, 1886, in a working class family in Hamburg. His father, Jan Thaelmann, was an active member of the Hamburg branch of the Social-Democratic Party, a relentless fighter against the enemies of the working people.

Young Thaelmann grew up in an atmosphere of bitter class struggle against the Prussian-Hohenzollern reactionaries and the powerful Hamburg bourgeoisie. From his early years young Ernst witnessed the persistent everyday revolutionary work being done, and he began

to realize at an early age that this was no easy work.

It was natural for Ernst, the son of a class-conscious worker, to want to become "organized." Consequently in 1902, at the age of 16, he became a member of the Social-Democratic Party. A year later, when employed as a teamster—and prior to this, Thaelmann worked as a packer, driver, docker, and coal sorter—he joined the transport workers' trade union.

Full of energy and initiative, sociable and bubbling with life, Ernst Thaelmann immediately became an active member of the party and trade union. Together with other young workers he established a young transport workers' organization in Hamburg. Within a few years he became the recognized speaker of the youth. By taking part in trade union life and fighting for the everyday interests of the workers, he won their confidence and came to the forefront in the labor movement. It goes without saying that Ernst Thaelmann, like his father, was on more than one occasion victimized and subjected to police and court persecution, had to work now legally, then illegally, and to suffer all the privations of unemployment. Notwithstanding his youth, all these things were ordinary "by-products" of the class struggle for him.

At the outbreak of the World War Ernst Thaelmann was already one of those who did not want to reconcile themselves to the capitulation of Social-Democracy to the Hohenzollerns. He condemned the chauvinist position of Social-Democracy and opposed it in the trade unions. During the war Thaelmann was called up into the army and served in the artillery. Not for one moment did he weaken his revolutionary activities, and this caused the officers to regard him with suspicion: he was not given leave, he was forbidden to receive newspapers and letters and was always sent to the most dangerous sections of the front. This in its way was a masked death sentence which cost the lives of more than one revolutionary worker. While at the front Thaelmann maintained constant contact with his comrades in Hamburg. It was at the front that he learned of the revolutionary actions of the sailors in 1917.

Ernst Thaelmann returned from the front during the November events in Germany—a still more determined fighter for peace. By that time the majority of the revolutionary workers of Hamburg had joined the Independent Social-Democratic Party, which originated at the very height of the war as a result of the split in the Social-Democratic Party. While the overwhelming majority of the members of the Social-Democratic Party were becoming more and more filled with revolutionary enthusiasm, the party was led by such Centrist elements as Kautsky, Haase, Hilferding, Ditmann and others.

Ernst Thaelmann joined this party in 1919 and soon became the chairman of its largest branch in Hamburg. This branch headed by Thaelmann fought against the opportunist leaders of Social-Democracy, for the amalgamation of all the revolutionary forces of Germany into a class party of the proletariat, for the amalgamation of the Spartacists with the Independent Social-Democratic Party.

The fall of tsarism in Russia greatly influenced the revolutionary developments in Germany, but many times greater was the influence on them of the victorious great October Socialist Revolution. And Ernst Thaelmann ardently greeted this revolution from the very outset as the path he passionately wanted to see the German proletariat take, as the way out of capitalist slavery and poverty. The victorious October Revolution played an important role in the further development of this young working class leader, and from this moment on he became an inseparable friend of the Bolsheviks, devoted to the Party of Lenin and Stalin.

We find Ernst Thaelmann in the front ranks of the fighters for peace without annexations, for the overthrow of the Hohenzollern military regime which, as the fascists are again doing today, led the country and the people to the brink of ruin. The Hohenzollerns were overthrown, but what was lacking to overthrow the domination of capital in Germany was an iron Bolshevik mass party which alone could have led the proletariat, in league with the peasantry and progressive intellectuals, to victory over the capitalist plunderers.

From the moment when V. I. Lenin founded the Communist International, when the Spartacists became a section of the Communist International, Ernst Thaelmann fought inside the Independent Social-Democratic Party for its amalgamation with the Communist Party, for the entry of the hundreds of thousands of members of the Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany into the Communist International. The Hamburg organization, led by Ernst Thaelmann, joined the struggle for the fusion of the two parties that was achieved in 1920 after a passionate ideological struggle and the breakaway of rotten opportunist elements.

Thus, a mass Communist Party was established in Germany in 1920. But this united mass party was far from being a Bolshevik Party. The united party underwent several serious ideological crises. The Communist International often had occasion to intervene and help it and on these occasions Ernst Thaelmann always unwaveringly took the side of the Communist International.

When the Ruhr was occupied by the French imperialists and the German people were ruthlessly robbed during the inflation period, a revolutionary crisis developed in Germany. At that time, the leading group in the Party (Brandler-Thalheimer) failed to understand the revolutionary role of the Party as the vanguard of the working class, politically disorientated the proletariat and did not lead them into the offensive, as was so imperatively necessary at that moment. In this situation the proletariat of Hamburg saved the German working class from the danger of losing all they had achieved since 1918, saved the prestige of the revolutionary Party in the eyes of the masses. The Hamburg proletariat revolted courageously and resolutely. But since this uprising, due to the mistakes of the Brandler leadership, was isolated, the Party had to organize its retreat and did so in model fashion. The leaders of the Hamburg Party organization showed themselves to be consistent and staunch revolutionaries; they were able not only to launch an attack in good time, but also to organize the retreat in good time and without panic. The Hamburg uprising upset the plans of reaction and at the same time dealt a crushing blow at Brandlerite opportunism and at these scoundrels and enemies of the working class and progressive mankind connected with Brandler—Radek and Trotsky.

During this period, in October, 1923, Thaelmann's name became for the entire German proletariat the symbol of a courageous and staunch revolutionary.

Thus Thaelmann became the central figure in the ranks of the revolutionary German proletariat. And at its Congress in Frankfort in 1924 the Communist Party elected him to be its chairman—the best son of the German people, a revolutionary who had developed into a Bolshevik, was strong as steel and a true disciple of Lenin and Stalin.

The subsequent years were those of the severest inner Party struggles and at the same time of a new and mighty growth of the Party, which increasingly approached the type of Bolshevik Party. In close collaboration with the Communist International the Party led by Thaelmann purged its ranks of corrupt, thoroughly rotten scoundrels—infected with counter-revolutionary Trotskyism—like Korsch, Schwartz, Scholem, Ruth Fischer, Maslow, Urbans and others, and once again won and strengthened the confidence in it of the working class, which had become shaken by the treacherous activities of these elements.

In the struggle against reaction and its hirelings—the reactionary leaders of Social-Democracy—Ernst Thaelmann became the banner bearer around whom all progressive people of the country rallied during the presidential elections in the spring of 1925.

In the heat of the Party struggle against reaction. Thaelmann reminded the German proletariat of the great duty of effective international solidarity. Together with Chinese comrades Thaelmann hurried from meeting to meeting in order to organize aid for the Chinese people engaged in the fight for their emancipation. He called for support for the British miners when they declared a general strike; he mobilized the masses to save the lives of Sacco and Vanzetti; he tirelessly participated in the struggle to release the innocent Scottsboro pris-

oners; he fought passionately against fascist terror in Italy and supported with all his might the campaign of protest against the murder of Matteotti and against the barbarity of Mussolini.

The struggle of the German Communist Party against the imperialist warmongers and its solidarity with the oppressed nations or with nations menaced by aggressors became the basic feature characterizing the policy of the Party led by Thaelmann.

Ernst Thaelmann always fought against the fascist "spirit of revenge" so characteristic of German reaction. He propagated fraternization between the German workers and the French proletariat, and with the Polish workers and peasants. Despite the ban on his entry into France, he made his way there in order to speak alongside Thorez at a big meeting and personally to tell the workers of Paris that he and all the Communists of Germany were fighting the fascist policy of "revenge," and that the united efforts of the French and German workers must be exerted to curb the fascist instigators of war.

Ernst Thaelmann was the organizer of the "League of Red Front Fighters," a big organization that fought for peace, against fascist terror in Germany. It was really a mass organization. That is why it became the chief target of reaction and finally was banned in 1929, the Social-Democratic leaders and Ministers assisting in bringing this about. But the cry "Red Front" continues to live today among the masses of Germany and has become dear to the labor movement of the entire world.

During the difficult economic struggles of the period between 1925-1932, when big strikes and lockouts followed one after the other, when the masses put up an energetic defense of their achievements against the capitalists, Ernst Thaelmann was their devoted helper and leader. He was always to be found where the most serious and complicated problems had to be solved. At the same time he constantly and sharply criticized the theories of Social-Democratism that disarmed the proletariat (the theory of organized capitalism, of economic democracy, of the peaceful transition into socialism, etc.) and actively helped to liberate wide sections of the working class from the influence of Social-Democratism.

As early as 1924 the workers elected Ernst Thaelmann a member of the German Reichstag and he remained their elected representative right up to the advent of the Hitler dictatorship. Both in Parliament and outside it, thanks to his active leading participation in the mass movement, he was always a worthy representative of the interests of the proletariat and working people generally, whether it was in the struggle for social legislation, for support for the unemployed, invalids and aged workers, or in the struggle for specific demands of the young generation, women, small traders and peasants.

Thaelmann always strove to rally the forces of the working class, the urban petty bourgeoisie, the peasant masses and intellectuals into a united fighting front aimed at defending their common interests against monopoly capital. Ernst Thaelmann was the initiator of the program of national and social liberation of Germany that played so significant a role and served as the basis for uniting all the working people for the struggle to overcome the crisis and poverty in 1931-32. He was the initiator of the program designed to help the peasantry, to save the small and middle peasants from the clutches of finance capital. He always championed the closest alliance between the working class and peasantry in defense of their common interests.

There are many fighting episodes in the life of Ernst Thaelmann which characterize the courage and bravery of this leader of the German working class. On many occasions he personally averted the attacks of the reactionary police authorities on the masses. At a huge rally of the "Red Front Fighters' League" in Berlin in 1928, the police, incited by the reactionary press, attacked the masses. A police officer waving his sword intended to strike a worker, but Ernst Thaelmann quickly drew this worker back. The blow aimed at the worker fell on Thaelmann's head. Blood appeared on his face, but Ernst quickly wiped it off and moved his cap down in order to hide the wound

and called upon the masses not to give way to provocation. Thereby he upset the provocative plans of the reactionary police officers and averted a bloodbath. But the news spread among the workers that Ernst Thaelmann was wounded. The wrath of hundreds of thousands of workers compelled the police to retreat and leave the streets in the hands of disciplined masses of Red Front fighters.

In 1929 the forces of reaction, in the person of the Social-Democratic Police Chief Zorgiebel, banned the traditional May Day demonstrations. Nonetheless, the working masses of Berlin went onto the streets. The "Social-Democrat" Zorgiebel issued the order to fire on the masses. Many were killed and wounded. The workers of Wedding and other districts in Berlin built barricades. Shooting began. The danger developed that the workers would fall victims to the provocative work of the Social-Democratic Police Chief bribed by the reactionaries. Ernst Thaelmann, aware that an uprising of the proletariat could not be victorious in the absence of a revolutionary situation, made his way in the dark of night and despite the bullets flying about on all sides, through the police cordons to the scene of the fighting and convinced the workers not to begin an uprising in such a situation. He helped the fighting workers to carry through an organized retreat and thus strengthened their confidence in the Communist Party.

These and numerous other episodes are proof of Thaelmann's unswerving devotion to the cause of the people, the cause of the proletariat and its Party. Thaelmann the transport worker was always with the masses, he learned from them and taught them, always defending and fighting for the interests of the working class and of the entire people. And that is why he became the leader of the German working class; that is why he is so loved and respected not only by working men and women, but by many peasants and intellectuals.

Thaelmann was a delegate to all the Congresses of the Independent Social-Democratic Party and later of the Communist Party, and from the Unity Congress on was a member of the Party leadership. In 1924 he was elected Chairman of the Party and enjoyed the confidence of a recognized leader. He was a delegate to the third, fifth and sixth World Congresses of the Communist International. At the fifth World Congress Thaelmann was elected candidate member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, at the sixth Congress, full member of the Executive Committee, and in 1935, at the seventh Congress, Comrade Thaelmann was again elected—in his absence—to membership of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. He played an active part in all the plenums of the E.C.C.I., from the seventh to the twelfth inclusive. Ernst Thaelmann is one of the most worthy leaders of the Communist International. On two occasions the German workers put forward his candidature at presidential elections. At the last elections in 1932 he received 5,000,000 votes. At the last Reichstag elections, on the eve of the establishment of the Hitler dictatorship, when Ernst Thaelmann's name topped the Communist ticket, the Communist Party won 6,000,000 votes and 100 seats in the Reichstag.

Ernst Thaelmann repeatedly warned the German workers, and primarily the Communists, against any underestimation of the fascist danger, even in 1932 when Hitler's party suffered defeat at the elections. When in 1932 the Social-Democratic government of Prussia was suddenly removed by the reactionary imperial government of Papen, Ernst Thaelmann immediately understood the full significance of the coup organized by the reactionaries and directed against the working people. Although all roads leading to Berlin were surrounded by troops, he undertook a night journey to Berlin by automobile, immediately after a meeting in Leipzig. Traveling at a speed of 100 kilometers an hour he broke through the police cordons, established contact with the Political Bureau of the Communist Party, and that very night a letter was drawn up to the Social-Democratic Party leadership in which the Communist Party proposed to the Social-Democratic Party to enter into negotiations regarding the joint organization of wide-scale counteraction in reply to the coup. But the Social-Demo-

cratic leaders, capitulating to reaction and seeking a compromise with it, refused to undertake any negotiations whatsoever, and turned down all the concrete proposals of the Communist Party.

Ernst Thaelmann fought tirelessly for the establishment of the united front with the Social-Democratic masses and organizations. In one of his speeches, when addressing himself to the Social-Democratic workers he declared that the Communist Party had no Party interests contrary to the class interests of the proletariat. Therefore the Communist Party proposed the united front to the Social-Democratic workers without any concealed designs, without any maneuvers, reservations or conditions except the one condition: honestly to strive to defend the interests of the proletariat and working people generally against the fascist enemies of the people. "We call on you, our class brothers," declared Thaelmann, "to fight shoulder to shoulder with us against fascism."

With the same frankness and passion Ernst Thaelmann appealed to the Catholic workers, declaring to them: "We have no desire to burn down churches or to plunder church property, to burn crosses or destroy icons as reaction would have you believe. What we want is a joint struggle of all the oppressed against parasitic capitalism, against barbarous fascism; therefore, Comrade Christian, here is our hand and let us march forward together to the struggle!" So spoke the atheist Ernst Thaelmann for whom the religious feelings of the Catholic worker could not serve as an obstacle to the organization of the joint defense of the cultural and social achievements of the people against fascism.

Thaelmann waged a struggle against sectarianism inside the Communist Party, but his struggle against the sectarianism in his own Party that was paralyzing the united front and that had considerably encouraged the anti-people's policy of those leaders of Social-Democracy who were hostile to the united front, did not at that time achieve sufficient success.

The fascist dictatorship is raging in Germany. The Hitler government exerted every effort physically to destroy or to lay its hands on its dangerous ideological enemy, Ernst Thaelmann. As far back as 1924 the fascists threw a bomb into his house. The fascists knew that if the masses and their organizations readily responded to the proposals and advice of the Communist Party led by Thaelmann, Hitler would not come to power. The fascists knew that if all the workers' organizations responded to Thaelmann's call, if the united front between the Communist Party and Social-Democracy was realized, the Hitler dictatorship would never be established. That is why the fascists hunted after him with particular fury, that is why they raised such a howl of joy when they laid their hands on him on March 3, 1933, that is why they have kept him in their hellish prison for five years already, without trial.

Ernst Thaelmann's development to the post of leader of the Communist Party of Germany is a historical example of how the personality of a leader develops in the process of the victories and defeats of the proletariat and its Party; an example of how the Party and masses shape their leader and how the latter in his turn hammers out and trains the Party and raises the masses and their struggle to a higher level. With the mighty growth of the influence of the Party under the leadership of Ernst Thaelmann, it became possible to train the masses of the working class of Germany in the spirit of irreconcilable hatred toward fascism. In the capacity of leader of his class, as prisoner of the anti-people's fascist Hitlerite regime, the prisoner Ernst Thaelmann has become the symbol of the struggle for liberty of the working people of Germany.

We shall fight as Ernst Thaelmann fought against all enemies of unity, against all Trotskyite wreckers of the labor movement, against all wavering elements, and those who weaken the labor movement; we shall fight for united working class action in Germany, for international unity of action in aid of the Spanish and Chinese peoples; for the establishment of a broad People's Front against fascism and war in Germany and in all capitalist countries.

# Catalonia, an Example of Unity

BY J. GOMORERA

THE split and division in the ranks of the labor movement have been made full use of by the forces of barbarous fascism in all countries. Had the labor movement not been so split up, fascism would never have won the positions it now has. A firmly welded labor movement would have made impossible the robber war of the fascists in Spain, and at all events would not have permitted the fatal policy of "non-intervention." We shall not analyze here the causes that gave rise to the split in the labor movement, and shall not here seek out those who are to blame for this split; quite a lot has been spoken and written about this. We only wish to put the question as to whether a united labor movement is possible. And without the slightest hesitation we answer: yes!

We have come to this conclusion not as a result of recognizing the historical necessity of unity, but as a result of the fact that we ourselves are witnesses of, and participants in the unity achieved in Catalonia. What has been achieved in Catalonia, where the causes of disunity were the same as they are in any other country, is a living example to all people active in the labor movement.

How was political unity hammered out in Catalonia? How were the conditions created for trade union unity, for unity in the villages, for unity between all working class organizations? What are the results of political unity in the struggle of the Spanish people against fascism? What are the prospects facing this unity?

### THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN CATALONIA ON THE EVE OF, AND IN THE FIRST DAYS OF THE MILITARY-FASCIST REBELLION

Prior to, and at the beginning of the military fascist rebellion there were the following political parties in Catalonia:

The Catalan Left-Republican Party, the party founded by Macias and Companys, the party that was predominant in the Catalan government and possessed a majority in the municipal councils of Catalonia.

The Catalan Party of Republican Action, the organization of the petty bourgeoisie and of the national Catalan intelligentsia, possessing no strong roots among the masses.

The Catalan League, the party of the big bourgeoisie and bankers and now in the camp of the rebels. The P.O.U.M., the Trotskyite organization with its groups in Barcelona, Terrassa, Lerida, Gironda, and other places.

The Marxist parties that later joined forces, namely, the Communist Party of Catalonia; the Socialist League of Catalonia; the Catalan Federation of the Workers' Socialist Party of Spain; and the Catalan Proletarian Party. All these four parties had a membership, all told, of between five and six thousand, and perhaps less, since several of these parties, in the period of the internal struggle, exaggerated their own strength. These four parties established contacts through a Liaison Committee established before February 16, 1936, and that grew considerably in strength after the electoral victory of the People's Front. The Liaison Committee carried on the work of preparing the convocation of an extraordinary Unity Congress.

The Republican Parties of Spain, as well as the Right organizations—the "People's Action," the followers of Lerroux and others, were of no weight in the country. The importance of the other Catalan parties: the Democratic Cause of Catalonia, the Catholic Organization, the Iberian Federal Party, was not very great. The Estat Catala, a separatist or-

ganization, has not yet finally broken with the Left Republican Party of Catalonia.

The trade union movement was split up in no less a degree. There were the following organizations:

The Provincial Confederation of Labor (C.N.T.) led by the Anarchist Federation of Iberia (F.A.I.) and occupying the foremost place among the trade unions of Catalonia.

The General Workers' Union (U.G.T.), led in the majority of its branches by the Catalan Federation of the Workers' Socialist Party of Spain, and in the minority by the Communist Party of Catalonia.

The General Federation of the Trade Unions of Catalonia, led by the Socialist League of Catalonia.

The Workers' Federation of Trade Union Unity, led by the Trotskyites of the P.O.U.M.

The Autonomous Trade Union Center of Office Workers employed in trade and industry, with deep-rooted traditions in Catalan politics—the main organization of trading employees, and led by the Catalan Proletarian Party.

In addition, there was a large number of autonomous trade unions in Catalonia, of which the most important were the federations in the towns of Sabadell, Manresa, and Mataro, that had split away from the C.N.T. in connection with the movement of Trentistas that developed, headed by Pestana and Peiro.

The peasants of Catalonia were united in the Tenant Landholders' League, in the Peasant Federation (C.N.T.), and the Federation of Toilers of the Earth (U.G.T.). The biggest organization was the Tenant Landholders' League. The two other organizations had no traditions, had weak branches made up almost exclusively of agricultural laborers, of whom there were a few in the agriculture of Catalonia. The Tenant Landholders' League was under the political influence of the Left Republican Party of Catalonia and, to a considerably less degree, of the Socialist League of Catalonia.

The cooperative movement that had deep-rooted traditions and considerable strength in Catalonia showed a similar picture of division.

The military fascist rebellion in Catalonia was crushed in the course of two days of exceptionally bitter struggle. The whole of Catalonia rose up against the military units that revolted under the influence of officers who had betrayed their country and sold themselves to foreign fascism. The representatives of the state power and members of all the anti-fascist parties and organizations fought shoulder to shoulder.

After the street fighting came to an end, the Anarchists immediately acquired a dominant position. Supported by the Trotskyites they laid their own particular ideological imprint on the character of the war, on trading, on the social system. Their power proved to be very considerable, because they possessed the strongest trade union organization (C.N.T.); in their possession were almost all the stores of arms seized in the barracks; they had control over Barcelona and the province—not a single step could be taken without a permit bearing the official stamp of the C.N.T.-F.A.I.; they were in control of the military and administrative, trading and food supply machine. Only the Marxist movement and the divided and disorganized trade union movement more or less affiliated to it, and several scared Republican Parties stood counter to them.

### MARXIST-LENINIST UNITY

In July, 1936, in the days of the tremendous trials and mortal danger that faced the country, the leading officials of the four Marxist parties understood that the events of July 19 were no ordinary military revolt. They understood that a long, bitter and dangerous war had begun, that a new historic period had begun for Catalonia and the whole of Spain, and that only in unity was it possible for the working people to find sufficient strength to destroy fascism, to rouse the Anarchists to take the path of collaboration—the first step on the road to organized trade union unity—and to root out the Trotskyite provocateurs.

The four Marxist parties placed party statutes on one side, discarded unnecessary, bureaucratic formalities, and decided to join forces in the course of the struggle. Thus, on July 24, five days after the outbreak of the military fascist revolt, when Barcelona was in a state of fever, there was formed the Marxist-Leninist Party—the United Socialist Party of Catalonia.

The consequences of political unity proved rapid and beneficial. The cooperative movement became united. The peasants united in the Federation of Agricultural Trade Unions of Catalonia. The trade unions linked up their organizations, so that out of the numerous trade union centers and organizations, only two remained—the U.G.T. and C.N.T. The General Confederation of Trade Unions of Catalonia, the autonomous trade unions together with the autonomous trade union center of office workers in industry and trade, with the exception of the Trentistas trade unions of Mataro and another trade union of no great importance, merged with the U.G.T. A little later the so-called Workers' Federation of Trade Union Unity also joined the U.G.T. Its intention in doing so, of course, was to gain control of the leadership of the U.G.T. for its Trotskyite leaders, but it failed to do so.

Thanks to the unity brought about, it became possible to expose the treacherous activity of counter-revolutionary Trotskyism, to drive the Trotskyites out of the government, municipal councils and trade unions, out of the administrative machine, the Economic Council, the army and the People's Front; it became possible to secure the official banning of the Trotskyite P.O.U.M., which became transformed into a gang of spies, provocateurs, wreckers, terrorists, and professional murderers without any roots at all among the masses.

Thanks to unity we were able in a few days to liquidate the Trotskyite putsch organized on May 1 of last year in Barcelona. By this May putsch, the Trotskyites—traitors to their country—provoked disorders, street fighting, and thereby wished to facilitate armed intervention in the affairs of Catalonia by an Italian squadron and the landing of Italian troops. But the putsch was crushed in the course of three days of bloody struggle, mainly thanks to the consolidation of the forces of the United Socialist Party of Catalonia, the U.G.T., and the efforts of the government troops. The rapidity of this victory destroyed the plans of intervention at that time.

Thanks to unity we succeeded in popularizing the main slogans of our struggle, the following of which, if fulfilled, will ensure our victory; a regular people's army; military discipline; a single command; the creation of reserves; the training of officers and the purging of their ranks; the appointment of war commissars; the organization of the war industry; the nationalization of the main branches of industry; the defense of the petty bourgeoisie; the planning and increase of output; the organization of consumers' cooperatives; the struggle against the "Fifth Column"; the establishment of firm, anti-fascist, public order; a strong government; the anti-fascist People's Front; proletarian united action between the U.G.T. and C.N.T.; unity of the people of Spain against the common enemy; close and friendly collaboration between the Catalan government and the government of the Spanish Republic.

Thanks to unity, we established on the Eastern Front the glorious "Karl Marx" division that played a similar role to that played by the glorious "Fifth Regiment," the handiwork and pride of the Communist Party of Spain, on the other fighting fronts of the Republic. Together with the "Fifth Regiment," the "Karl Marx" division became a school for discipline, self-sacrifice and heroism that became the basis and beginning of the establishment of a mighty people's republican army.

Thanks to unity, it became possible to put a stop to the spreading of the bloody conflicts in the rear that cost the lives of more than 200 comrades—murdered by the Trotskyites and their "Fifth Column" allies—including Sesè, the never-to-be-forgotten Secretary of the U.G.T., former member of the Catalan government, and member of our Central

Committee, who fell in the May days.

Thanks to unity, we succeeded in strengthening the anti-fascist People's Front and in drawing the C.N.T. into it.

Thanks to unity, complete unity of action will be established between the C.N.T. and the U.G.T., and a single trade union center established.

Thanks to unity, we have dealt a blow at the pro-fascist maneuvers and plans of the fascist separatists, as well as to the plans of the sectarian nationalists who talk of a "separate peace," but have a shameful compromise in view.

Thanks to unity, we have created a Party with more than 60,000 members and the General Workers' Union organization with 600,000 members, while the total population of Catalonia is 2,900,000 people. It should be stated that both these organizations are undergoing a process of uninterrupted growth. The Party we have established enjoys great authority among the workers and peasants and in the army; it exerts a positive and often a strong influence over the Catalan government, the municipal councils, the Tenant Landholders' League, the Cooperative Federation of Catalonia, the mass organizations, the entire economic life of our country, in the shape of its leading, executive and lower organizations.

The party we have established has four big daily newspapers with a circulation of 130,000 copies, several smaller newspapers, and numerous journals, dealing with general political questions, trade union problems, military questions, and also for women, etc.

Thanks to unity, Catalonia will fight to the end in close alliance with the remaining peoples of Spain, until Franco is crushed, and with him the chief enemies of mankind, Hitler and Mussolini.

What would have been left of Catalonia and the Republic had we not had unity? All the four Marxist parties would have been crushed by the Anarchists, one after the other. Had they remained divided, the anti-fascist forces would have been unable to defend themselves against Trotskyism. Trotskyism would have strengthened its position, strengthened its connections with the extreme groups of Anarchism, would have forced on the people its provocative slogans connected with the inevitable physical destruction of the best representatives of the people, and would have facilitated the victory of the fascist countries. Catalonia, placed at the mercy of the forces of destruction, without hope of immediate salvation, left to its own fate by the central government, and constituting an empty spot in the first year of the war, would have been unable to defend itself and would have been lost to the Republic in the struggle against the fascist forces of intervention. The defeat of Catalonia would have meant the defeat of the whole Republic.

Marxist-Leninist unity, together with the consequent consolidation of the Republican parties, put a stop to the pseudo-revolutionary process of disruption that set in at the outset, exposed Trotskyism, speeded up the healthy development of the most responsible, most conscious groups of anarchism and the C.N.T., included Catalonia in the common unreserved struggle, together with its huge industrial possibilities, its firm spirit, its ardent anti-fascist youth. And Catalonia is now an exceptionally important factor in the winning of victory over the fascist brigands.

### ON THE ROAD TO UNITY

In Catalonia we have proved in deeds the possibility of unity. We shall support and fight for our unity fully to achieve the organized unity of the trade union movement so necessary for our victory over the enemy and for the creative work after the war. We shall fight to speed up the unification of the Marxist parties of Spain, for the establishment of a united party of the Spanish proletariat which we, the workers of Catalonia, will join without any reservations.

The workers of Catalonia are showing an example of unity to the workers of the whole world. They are now proud at the thought that they are the pioneers of the oncoming international unity, that they are true disciples and followers of invincible Marxism-Leninism.

# The Spanish People Will Conquer Despite All Defeatist Sentiments and Difficulties

BY DOLORES IBARRURI

ALL sections of the working people are represented at our meeting.* This is clear proof of the interest taken by the people of our country, men and women, in the question as to what our position is and whither we are going. This meeting is an expression of the ardent desire of the people to steer a correct course in order still further to strengthen their confidence in victory, in the destruction of fascism.

And this meeting of ours, after the fall of Teruel, reminds me of another meeting, organized by the Communist Party of Spain in Madrid after our troops entered Teruel in triumph.

At that meeting which also was representative of all that is best in our people, our comrades—men and women—gave expression to their joy and declared that it had not turned their heads.

They considered the capture of Teruel only to be clear proof of the technical might of our army. This victory was clear proof of the fact that our men know how to fight and how to conquer. And the conclusion drawn by our comrades—munition workers and soldiers who had come from the front to express their solidarity with us—was not to rest on their laurels, but to redouble all efforts, to fight with even greater enthusiasm than hitherto, to work with even more energy than hitherto in order to be worthy of our boys at the front.

Today's meeting resembles the Madrid meeting in every respect and in its turn also reflects the sentiments of the Catalan people, who have shown that they do not intend to lend ear to the defeatist views of those who never believed in the fighting ability of our people. And precisely at this moment, when the fall of Teruel has affected the morale of our people, because they are not given to understand that such failures are possible, the defeatists are beginning to raise their voices and spread despondency in the ranks of the people.

Therefore, in speaking to you today, to you the people of Catalonia and all the peoples of Spain, we state that the loss of Teruel is undoubtedly a regrettable and sad incident in our struggle but that this loss does not in the slightest degree decide the ultimate outcome of the war. We say that just as we were able to capture Teruel, so we shall be able not only to win it back from the hands of the enemy, but also to win back the whole of Spain and crush fascism.

### AGAINST DEFEATIST TENDENCIES AND DESPONDENCY

Who are the people who now speak of defeat, of the helplessness of our army? They are the people who have always been ensconced in safety behind the lines, the people who live at the expense of the war, and not for the war (*applause*). They are the people who do not know the smell of gun powder; people who lack talent or ability, cowards, people who put their stake on both God and the Devil, people who have one foot in our camp and the other in that of the rebels. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Who says that our army is helpless?

* Abridged report of speech delivered at a meeting in Barcelona on February 20, 1938.

We who have witnessed the heroism of our troops when they entered Belchite, shoulder to shoulder with the men of the storm battalions; we who have seen the unprecedented courage of the men who captured Teruel and firmly withstood the endless attacks of the enemy, we who have seen our troops rout the Italians at Guadalajara, we know the might of our army only too well, we are perfectly well aware of what our troops are capable. (*Stormy applause.*)

Those who now spread rumors about a crisis, who speak of the need to form a government made up of representatives of only the republican parties, because the participation of workers' representatives in the government allegedly lessens the sympathy of the democratic governments towards us, display a great lack of foresight. These individuals do not deceive the people to whom in the last analysis the decisive word belongs. We must tell the people who spread such rumors that during the first months of the revolt the Spanish government was made up exclusively of Republicans, and the same democratic countries that today make their aid conditional on the participation or non-participation of workers in the government, deserted us, left us to our own fate. (*Prolonged applause.*) What is more, they not only failed to help our people, but helped fascism.

What do these individuals want now? What do they seek at the present moment when our people, worn out and bled white, and our fatherland rent by treason, feel a certain fatigue?

They want to speculate on these sentiments. But we must tell these people who talk of an armistice, or of the formation of a government made up exclusively of Republicans—fundamentally an act of treason—that our people will on no account permit such treason to be committed against those who have given their lives at the battle fronts. . . .

We must tell them that our people went to the front not in order to preserve the privileges of landlords and bankers; we must tell them that our mothers have sacrificed their sons not in order to return to the slavery of bygone days. We must ask them whether they are not planning to bring us back the bankers and landlords. We must tell them that our people are a firm guarantee of the defense of democracy and these individuals have no right to speak of democracy when they plan to destroy the revolutionary conquests won at the price of the sacrifices made throughout nineteen months of war.

We cannot permit such rumors to be spread at the present moment. Each of us, on hearing such talk, should ask those who spread these rumors how much Franco pays them for this, what the price is of their treachery.

There are some people who, when they see us putting up an energetic defense of the policy of the People's Front, dare to assert that we have furled our revolutionary banner, that we have given up the revolutionary program of our parties—by our parties I mean the United Socialist Party of Catalonia, and the Communist Party of Spain. And when we publicly announce our line—as we have done in the document of the Political Bureau of our Party—they say that we are in opposition to the government.

We defend the policy of the People's Front because it is a policy of the unity of our people. But the fact that we defend the policy of the People's Front, the fact that we participate in the People's Front Government, by no means signifies that we associate ourselves with the entire policy pursued at every given moment by this Government.

And when in Parliament we declared our solidarity with the Government, what we had in mind was not unconditional solidarity and not only with this government, but also with any other government that may come into being. We offer and extend our aid to the People's Front Government to the extent to which this government carries out a genuine People's Front policy, defends the interests of the people and the needs of the war. (*Prolonged applause.*) And when in the document recently published by the Political Bureau of our Party, attention was drawn to the need for certain changes, this was done because in our opinion not everything is working smoothly in the government, and because certain corrections are necssary to

enable military operations to develop in more favorable conditions.

### FOR A WIDE EXPLANATORY CAMPAIGN AMONG THE MASSES

We consider it necessary to conduct a wide educational campaign among the masses of the people. Comrade Valdes* has said that we are opposed to a policy of silence. This is true. We are against a policy of silence precisely because we think it necessary that the government, the working class organizations and political parties should be in constant contact with the people, with the masses of the people and should tell them of the difficulties as well of the possibilities that exist for victory. The people should always be aware of our possibilities and our difficulties. The people should be aware of the state of affairs in our industry, of the state of affairs at the battlefronts, so that every worker may always be fully informed of events and the general situation and know that it is his duty to make sacrifices in order to achieve victory, that it is his duty to redouble his efforts in order to bring our struggle to a victorious conclusion.

Those who do not possess sufficient political insight to understand the policy of our Party, or who out of laziness or for some other reason are incapable of working and fighting as we do, are angered at the fact that our Party displays such activity and energy, that it always shows the masses the road to victory. They do not understand that our Party develops this initiative and activity in the interests of the Republic and the entire people. In this connection I wish to remind you, comrades of Catalonia, of the correctness of our line at all stages of our struggle, so as once again to prove to you who it is that is conducting a struggle against us, and why the masses of people of Spain place their full confidence in the policy pursued by the United Socialist Party of Catalonia and by the Communist Party of Spain.

I wish to remind you, comrades of Catalonia, of how the Communist Party worked and fought to establish the army. At a time when no one thought of the need to organize an army, when it was generally thought that we could conduct the war without an army, the Communist Party defended the need to organize an army, because only with a disciplined and well-organized army could we successfully combat the enemy.

Since the days when our Party advanced the slogan of the establishment of a regular army, and till the time when this slogan was put into practice, a great deal of time was lost which could have been used for the successful struggle against the enemy.

I also wish to remind you of the period when university-trained engineers and unskilled laborers were receiving the same wages in the factories; the period when wages were being levelled down in the factories and mines, with the result that all stimulus for work was being killed. At the time we were the only ones who dared to oppose those counter-revolutionary tendencies that were having such a fatal effect on industry. We were the only ones to declare that the levelling down of wages was a wrong measure that was destroying our economy and ruining our industry, because the workers had no interest in work.

Again at the time when a policy of violence was being pursued in the countryside, when the peasants were being driven to forced collectivization, when they were being robbed and plundered, we were the only ones to raise our voice in defense of the peasants, against those ruinous tendencies.

But those who now dare to come out so "decisively" maintained a cowardly silence in those days. When many people lost their heads in face of the difficulties of the war, when it was thought impossible to defend Madrid, our Party, the United Socialist Youth, and other working class organizations supporting our Party, raised aloft the banner of the defense of Madrid in the teeth of the defeatists and Madrid was saved for the republic. Today Madrid stands out as a brilliant example for the whole of Republican Spain.

What is the difference between our Party and other parties? The difference

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* Valdes—member of the Central Committee of the United Socialist Party of Catalonia.

is that at every difficult and serious moment for our country we come out onto the streets, tell the workers that there are no hopeless situations, and put forward concrete methods of struggle. We do not limit ourselves to mere talk in offices and meetings. We do not moan and complain, we go out into the streets in order to make contact with the people, for we know that only among the people can we find the energy, that only in the creative abilities of the people can we find the support necessary for the conduct of a firm policy capable of hastening on the end of the war and of bringing victory to our arms. We are making no bargains with our conscience, we do not give up a single iota of our revolutionary program. And precisely because of this we defend with all the enthusiasm we can muster the democratic republic which is now a banner of struggle against fascism, a symbol of the freedom of our people.

### WE HAVE SUFFICIENT MEANS TO ACHIEVE VICTORY

Comrade Valdes has spoken of the untouched possibilities yet existing in our country for the development of a war industry capable of meeting all the requirements of our fronts.

It is interesting to note that the present meeting is taking place after the excellent speech of the head of the government who has once again proved his faith in the people. We wish to say that he is not mistaken in this and we are prepared to exert all our strength to help him find a way out of the present situation.

True, our country is undergoing great difficulties in the war industry. But similar difficulties existed in many other countries and nevertheless were overcome. And since we know our workers, since we know our government, we are convinced that we shall also overcome these difficulties. Three days ago our paper, *Frente Rojo*, published several articles about the war industry in Britain during the World War.

At the outbreak of the World War, Britain, as Spain today, had no war industry. And when it was seen in Britain that the army at the front was not receiving sufficient ammunition to fight the German troops, when they were faced with the outrageous fact that each British battalion had only two machine guns to the 16 possessed by the Germans, when it turned out that each British piece of artillery had only one shell per day while the German guns kept up a steady fire against the British trenches, there was talk in England too of losing the war.

However, there were people who knew the creative abilities of the British people, abilities to be found in every people, and they understood the need to stimulate the development of the war industry. Feverish work then began towards this end in England.

Members of the government visited the factories and the trade unions spoke to the masses. They told them that the British troops were suffering defeat at the hands of the enemy because the British lacked munitions. When the British troops scored a victory they did not paint a rosy picture to the masses in order later to undermine the morale of the people in case of defeat. They explained the reasons why British soldiers did not have sufficient supplies of ammunition.

And this is exactly what we must explain to our people. Our rights and our duties in this regard are even greater since our war is not an imperialist war as was the one then being waged by Britain; we are conducting a revolutionary war, a progressive war, a war to maintain the national independence of the Spanish people.

Spain has a war industry adequate for all the requirements of the front. There are those who think that it is impossible to manufacture airplanes in our country, that we are not capable of establishing a war industry. These are the very people who secretly speak of compromise. We have, however, proved that we can manufacture airplanes, artillery and machine-guns in quantities sufficient to cover the requirements of our fronts.

We must tell our people that we possess sufficient means to achieve victory. But at the same time we must stimulate the productivity of labor of our workers. We must go to the factories and mills

and tell the workers: "We know that you can achieve everything, but that very often those in charge of industry are not sufficiently devoted to the common cause." (*Prolonged applause.*) We must go to the factories and say to the workers: "Work, but be vigilant, do not permit sabotage."

We must say to our soldiers: "The workers are prepared to exert all their efforts in order that you be fully supplied. Fight then, like heroes, observe strict discipline, take good care of your arms, for in them is the guarantee of the victory of our people." (*Applause.*) "Don't permit a repetition of the grievous incidents that have taken place during the war. Be fearless in exposing those who dispatch artillery to one place and shells to another. (*Stormy applause.*) Be ruthless in exposing these men as traitors of our people."

I assure you, workers of Catalonia, that if everyone of you will remember that the outcome of the war depends upon you, for the outcome of the war really does depend on the work of each one in particular and on the common effort of all of us; if every worker will feel responsible for the work assigned to him, if he will constantly remember that his work behind the lines is no less important than the efforts of the soldiers fighting at the fronts; if he remembers that by failing to supply artillery and ammunition, our soldiers will have nothing with which to fight; if every worker understands that the life and death of our country depend upon the work he performs, if everyone knows that he is duty bound to devote all his energy to the very end, bearing in mind the importance of his efforts, of his energy for the common cause—then I assure you that the war industry will be in a position to satisfy all the demands of our fronts, and our men will go into battle secure in the knowledge that there will be no shortage of ammunition at decisive moments.

At the same time, however, people who have been assigned the task of raising the productivity of labor must also concern themselves with the material conditions of the workers. One cannot merely tell the workers: "Work, toil, redouble your efforts." If we demand increased productivity from the workers then we must first say to them: "Work and we shall see to it that you are supplied with food, in sufficient quantities."

### DRAW WOMEN INTO THE WAR INDUSTRY

There is one problem which our Party has raised repeatedly, and the solution of which has now become more necessary than ever before as regards the creation of reserves. This is the problem of the participation of women in the war. I wish to remind you, comrades of Catalonia, that during the most difficult days facing Madrid, when the enemy was advancing on the capital of the republic, and when it was necessary for all the men to take up arms, the women, imbued with the feeling of their duty as citizens and the responsibility that lay upon them, went out into the streets and demanded that they be sent to the factories.

Tens of thousands of women demonstrated in the streets of the capital of the republic, demanding to be sent to work in industry in order to release the men so needed for the front. And following the example of Madrid, women should carry on a continuous struggle in the trade unions and in other organizations, demanding of the government that they be sent to work in industry.

Comrades of the General Workers' Union (U.G.T.), you must give up your prejudices, and have no fear that the women will take your places forever. You should understand that this is too petty an attitude, and that after the war is over tens of thousands of men and women will be required to build the new Spain that we want to establish. It is just you, comrades of the Catalan U.G.T., who should be the most ardent supporters of women being drawn into industry.

Allow me to cite a few figures in order that you may understand that the countries that took part in the war of 1914-18 correctly understood the need for drawing women into industry.

In Britain there were only 82,589 women employed in the chemical and metallurgical industries at the outbreak of the war; in July, 1916, there were

40,874 women employed in these ranches of industry, and by September, 918, this figure had increased to 587,300.

It was precisely these women, comades of Catalonia, who produced the unitions for the British troops, it was recisely they who by their work kept ie fronts supplied.

This is necessary because we require tremendous number of men for the rmy at the front and you, comrades of ie U.G.T., must not be afraid of this. fter the war is over there will be nough work for all. And if we fight for ie emancipation of women, for their olitical and social emancipation, we ust utilize the present moment in order tell the women: "Your place, today, in the factory. Fulfill your duty as ie daughter of a people fighting for s independence, and by your work win ourself economic and political indeendence." (*Applause.*)

We must again repeat that the only rrect policy at the present moment is ie policy of strengthening the People's ront which is based on the masses of ie population. We are not fighting for dividual groups to be able to live at e expense of the people; we are fightg for our entire people. And while ghting for the independence of our therland and for the democratic rights our people, we also fight for the mide classes among whom there are still any unstable and wavering elements. To all of these unstable and waverg elements, sometimes even cowardly ments, we must say that in Spain, at e present stage of the democratic revoion, at a time when it is a question of fending the national independence of e country, the wide masses of the ty-bourgeoisie, peasantry, handicraftsm, intellectuals, etc., who wish to live ree life and love their country above else, constitute a revolutionary and gressive force capable of fighting ngside the workers until final victory achieved. Wide masses of the pettyrgeoisie already know from their own erience that we are not egoists. In rating the working class we also t to liberate these middle classes under the capitalist system are doomed to constant vacillations between the interests of big capital and their own strivings.

We must say to the mass of the petty-bourgeoisie that they have absolutely nothing to fear from the revolutionary achievements of the working class, since these achievements will bring prosperity and culture to the broadest sections of the population who never before knew justice. We must say to the petty-bourgeoisie that we remain true to our Popular Front pact and that we are engaged in struggle for the elimination of all the prejudices that drag us back to the past.

Yesterday the President of the Council of Ministers calmly but resolutely gave the name of "traitor" to those who speak of the impossibility of equipping our army with all that is necessary. He was absolutely correct. And each of us must remember this well. Tell all those who speak of the impossibility of equipping our army with all the arms and aviation it requires that they are traitors. Tell them that we have these possibilities, that our army will be supplied with all it requires, and that it possesses something that the rebel army does not and never will have—heroism, enthusiasm, fighting ability, qualities that our men have manifested on every occasion when they have gone into action against the enemy's forces.

We must tell them that our boys at the front, despite all defeatist and vile rumors, will fight with arms produced by their brothers, that they will fight full of confidence and enthusiasm, in the knowledge that they are defending their liberty, the liberty of their people, the independence of their country.

We must win the war! And we must win it in order to consolidate the revolutionary achievements of our people.

If there is anyone who doubts this, anyone who forgets the character of our struggle, forgets that the proletariat is now the basic force which will smash all the attacks of the enemy, then we shall say once more to all those who waver: "Arms shouldered by the workers are the best guarantee of the defense of democracy."

# The Defensive War of the Chinese People Against the Japanese Aggressors *

BY CHU TEH

ON JULY 8, 1937, a warning artillery shot rang out again in Liukouchiao.** September 18 was repeated.*** Peace became insecure. Difficulties reached their extreme limit in China.

The sons and daughters of China are now faced with the question of the need to conduct a defensive war against the Japanese cutthroats. From a partial, defensive war in Northern China, this war has spread throughout the whole of China; from a defensive war waged by the 29th Army, it has become transformed into a war of the entire Chinese people.

The Japanese pillagers planned to carry through the Liukouchiao offensive as rapidly as possible. It was their design to set alight the flames of war and to spread their fire throughout the whole of Northern China, to seize hold of Northern China and transform it into a second Manchuria.

The Japanese bandits subjected the southern barracks (Nanyuang) in Peiping to artillery fire, and concentrated their forces there.

Fierce warfare broke out along the whole line of the Peiping-Tientsin Railway. The suburbs of Peiping were surrounded by the Japanese robber army. One after another trains bearing Japanese troops made their way along the Peiping-Ninghai railroad in the direction of Peiping and Tientsin. According to very modest estimates, more than 50,000 to 60,000 men had already arrived at these points. The Japanese usurpers transferred an army of 400,000 men to Northern China. All sorts of up-to-date weapons: airplanes, artillery, tanks, etc., were dispatched to Peiping and Tientsin. Japanese warships arrived in the Chinese ports of Swatow, Amoa and at other points. Japanese airplanes flew over Northern China unhindered.

The Japanese aggressors again stride over the very best lands of Northern China. Once again they are killing the sons and daughters of our country. Great China is once again the object of pillage and violence. It is difficult to think of anything worse than this.

After Konoe was appointed Prime Minister, the Japanese government established still closer relations with the Japanese militarists, by completely fulfilling the brazen demands of the War Ministry in respect to the seizure and destruction of China. This adventure was conceived with the aim of saving Japan from the economic crisis, and also in order to

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* Article by Chu Teh, Commander-in-Chief of the Eighth People's Revolutionary Army, published at the end of 1937 in China in the pamphlet, *Battles of the Eighth Army in Pininkwang.*

** Liukouchiao is a small town near Peiping. As is well known, an armed conflict between Japanese troops and the Chinese garrison was provoked in Liukouchiao by the Japanese command. This provocation was the beginning of open war by the Japanese aggressor against China.

*** September 18, 1931, was the date when the occupation of Manchuria was begun.

divert the attention of the Japanese people from the popular unrest developing inside the country.

Japan hastened on the war in China, making use of the fact that, in connection with the intervention of Germany and Italy in Spain, Great Britain would not wish to become involved in events in China; that the U.S.A., as a result of the temporary unreadiness of its armed forces, would also be unable to occupy itself fully with events in the Far East. Japan made use of the fact that England and America had not arrived at agreement in regard to the defense of Australia, and that England and Italy have still been unable to come to an agreement on Mediterranean problems, and finally that in China itself, despite the promulgation of the slogan of the unification of all forces, collaboration between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party had not yet been arranged.

But China is not now what it was formerly; China has now taken the firm and unanimous decision to defend itself; the Chinese people know that the bloody aggressor deserves to meet with the fiercest resistance. That is why the Liuzouchiao provocateurs met with a heady blow from the heroic 29th Army. In this struggle the commanders and rank and file of the 29th Army displayed incomparable fighting energy and fulfilled their duty of defending their country.

### JAPAN IS BY NO MEANS INVINCIBLE

In our days there are not a few individuals who suffer from Japanophobia. And this is at the time when huge masses of the people throughout China have risen up and are resisting Japan in a mighty avalanche. These individuals are full of sick fear of Japan, they tremble at the war and hold to the mistaken view that China cannot wage a war of defense against the Japanese bandits, and that therefore further concessions must be made to Japan and an agreement signed with it.

There can be no doubt that such fear is a great obstacle to the war of defense. Objectively these people fulfil the role of Japanese secret service agents. We must declare to these people that Japan is by no means invincible. Everybody knows that the economic and financial situation of Japan is far from being satisfactory.

During the last few years, only the war industry has developed in Japan. Even if such development provides a stimulant to economic life in the same way as a morphine injection does, it cannot last long, since the development of the war industry, that demands tremendous material expenditure, does not improve the condition of the people at all.

Tremendous capital investments and also supplies of raw materials in great abundance are necessary for the development of the war industry, but Japan possesses neither the one nor the other.

The total output of coal, iron, copper, oil, cotton and other commodities in Japan itself is not sufficient to enable the war industry of Japan to function properly.

The position as regards Japan's finances is also unsatisfactory; in connection with its huge expenditures on the needs of war, the Japanese government has been compelled in recent years to resort to state loans. Since 1931, the Japanese government has had an annual deficit, while the issue of state loans has increased at a rapid rate. The total sum of state loans amounted to 2,300,000,000 yen in the 1936-37 budget.

Having provoked the war in China, Japan is in need of big loans in order to keep it going. According to the opinion of the Japanese military expert Yokayama, the annual need for the issue of state loans must amount to 10,000,000,000 yen. At the same time he admits that the floating of state loans to such a tremendous degree will lead to great difficulties. However, insofar as Japan is conducting an adventurist offensive war, she cannot do without these loans. It is impossible to cover a loan for such a big sum inside Japan itself, while reliance on foreign loans is hopeless. It is doubtful whether, with the financial situation being what it is, Japan can hold out for long.

Now let us examine what constitute Japan's military forces. The Japanese militarists frequently boast about their army. We also recognize the strength of the Japanese army from the viewpoint both of its organization, and of its armaments.

By referring to the data of the German press, we see that the Japanese regular army and the "Manchurian" army stationed along the Chinese border number 1,200,000 men. It is possible that this figure is exaggerated, but even granting that it corresponds to the real state of things, it has to be recognized that this army is obviously inadequate for the conduct of a long drawn-out war in China.

There is a German military expert who considers that Japan is in a position to mobilize an army of 2,500,000 men. But if account is taken of the number of killed during the world imperialist war, and if we compare this with the mobilization possibilities of the Japanese army, then even then the question arises as to how long such an army could hold out in the conditions of war in China.

Another question about the fighting strength of the Japanese army. During the last thirty years Japan has not participated in a single one of the past wars. The Sino-Japanese war, and the Russo-Japanese war, too, have long passed into the realms of history. The officers of the Japanese army who are so prone to praise themselves are in the majority "heroes" on paper, but not in fact.

The Woosoon-Shanghai war of January 28* and also the struggle of the Japanese army in Manchuria against the guerilla units, provide clear and living examples of the actual position, when Chinese partisan units systematically won victory over the Japanese troops. To this it should be added that the Chinese army today is not what it was during the Sino-Japanese war.

There are people who declare that Japanese soldiers possess very great endurance. Is that so? Tarautsi, a former War Minister of Japan, has been compelled to declare that "400 out of every 1,000 recruits were released from military service owing to their poor physical condition."

Why is there such a tremendous number of physically unfit people in Japan? Because the Japanese financial magnates, the Japanese militarists, live on the fat of the land, whereas the masses of the severely exploited and oppressed workers and peasants live a half-starved existence.

While the big financial magnates of Japan have drawn tremendous wealth out of Manchuria, the masses of the poor workers and peasants of Japan have not improved their standard of living by a single iota. Large numbers of people in Japan are unemployed, go hungry; the death rate among the population is high. The fact that only the financial magnates, militarists and the feudal aristocracy enjoy all the benefits of the war of aggression, while the people have received nothing, apart from the burden of heavy war taxes and the fulfilment of their role as cannon-fodder, still further irritates the minds of huge masses of the poor workers and peasants.

The increase in the class consciousness of the masses of the Japanese people will undoubtedly shake the fighting power of the Japanese army. The masses of soldiers will at length cast off the ideology of "sincere devotion to the Emperor" that is forced on them, and with arms in hand will overthrow the domination of the Emperor, the financial magnates and the militarists, and also all the reactionary forces of the militarists. Clear proof of this is provided by the revolt of the Japanese soldiers in one of the units in the Woosoon-Shanghai war.

All this is alarming Japanese public opinion to an extreme degree. At the last elections, in 1937, the Shakai Taishuto Party won a victory—and this precisely is proof of the fact that the people are tired of war and are seeking for a way out of it. For the same reason the People's Front is developing in Japan, and is including the masses of workers and peasants, intellectuals and petty bourgeoisie, and even a section of the middle bourgeoisie, who have also joined this People's Front.

It is true that after the appointment of Konoe the Japanese government has become still closer connected with the militarists, that the fascist forces have still further increased. But in actual fact the rise of the fascist forces is an expression of the weakness of the ruling reactionary forces, of a policy of terrorism

* January 28, 1932—the date of the beginning of the Japanese intervention in Shanghai.

vithin the country and also in Japan's oreign policy.

We must not, of course, underestimate ne aggressive forces of the Japanese obbers, for any underestimation of the orces ' the enemy may turn into a fatal rr .t the same time, there is no need o overestimate the robber forces of apan, for thereby we shall slip into a ill more serious and dangerous error, iat of Japanophobia, and shall weaken ur resistance to Japanese aggression, nd take the road of agreements and oncessions. This would be equal to wait- g for our doom with our hands tied. ll Chinese should remember this and emember it very well.

### HE ONLY WAY OUT IS A WAR OF DEFENSE

The serious errors in policy connected ith Japanophobia have to a certain de- ee been overcome. Now every fellow untryman of ours is faced with the one sk of doing everything possible in order answer the war of the Japanese plun- rers by a war of the Chinese people for eir national liberation.

Manchuria is already lost, the Jehol rovince is occupied by the Japanese, the astern Hopei government of Chinese tional traitors has already been rmed. Northern China is in a danger- s position.

He who errs once should not repeat s past errors. The tremendous losses the Chinese people in the past will ally sober our fellow countrymen, who st see clearly that concessions, agree- nts and retreats are the road to sui- e, are a policy of destroying our state d nation.

Every fellow countryman of ours must possessed of the firm determination to ect, without vacillation, all his energy the war of defense as the surest way save his existence.

The present international situation and position inside China are favorable the conduct of a war of defense inst Japan. International public opin- condemns the war of plunder being ducted by Japan.

China, on the basis of the policy of Communist Party, of the policy of the tional united front, has at last put a to the internal civil war. Peace has been brought about within China. The agreement regarding collaboration between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party is already producing its positive results. The Nanking government has also made a new turn in its policy. The main object of all this is the war of defense, the unification of China and its salvation from shame. All these things in their turn constitute the first success of the anti-Japanese People's Front. Only the further, bold and rapid continuation of this policy will provide the people with new energy wherewith to fulfil their sacred duty of national liberation.

The Chinese Central Government must, beginning with the government leaders and throughout the whole of our country, spread the spirit of democratism, give the people complete freedom to defend their state, carry through the unification of the entire people on a still wider and firmer scale, mobilize and arm the people and direct the tremendous energy of the people toward the war of defense against Japan.

Only in this way will it be possible to offer the most resolute resistance to the imperialist barbarians, only in this way will it be possible to secure the return of all that has been lost, by fulfilling our sacred duty of national salvation.

Since "September 18" the Red Army has firmly held to its line of peaceful unification and joint struggle against the aggressor. While the Red Army was in the Central Soviet Region* it advanced three conditions for the cessation of the war. After the bold solution of the Sian events and right up to the present time, the Red Army has firmly held to the line of resisting Japan to the end.

This line of the Red Army, the line of the national united front, has now at last received general recognition and the support of the Chinese people. It has been recognized at last that the Red Army is a most important force in the defense of China and in bringing about national liberation.

The Japanese cutthroats will no longer be able to destroy or disrupt the collabo-

* The Central Soviet Region was in the Southeast of China in the Kiangsi Province, the capital being Juiching. The Red Army left this district in Nov., 1934.

ration between the Red Army and all the friendly anti-Japanese armies, and also the sincere collaboration between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, by their acts of provocation, by their threats.

In the course of ten years of struggle the Red Army has forged numerous steadfast cadres, who neither fear to sacrifice themselves nor shirk difficulties; it has raised their political knowledge and confidence in battle and victory. The rank and file and commanders of the Red Army have understood their task of resisting Japan. The Red Army has elaborated tactics of struggle by partisan units which fill its enemies with terror and fear. The Red Army has built up a well-organized machine for the conduct of political work, and spread the seeds of the struggle for the national liberation of the Chinese people among tremendous masses of the population.

We are sincere in explaining the valuable heritage received in the revolution to all the anti-Japanese friendly armies and to all our fellow countrymen. This experience will be of assistance in the anti-Japanese war. The anti-Japanese minded masses of the people of China and also all soldiers waging the struggle against the Japanese aggressors should undoubtedly make use of this experience of struggle.

The Red Army has no territorial designs whatsoever, just as it has no pretensions for power in the country. Its only desire is to resist Japan and save the country, to carry national liberation through to the end, and also to bring into being a real, independent, democratic republic. With a view to realizing this task it declared its readiness to give up the glorious and splendid name of the "Red Army" that it had borne for a period of ten years, reorganized itself into the People's Revolutionary Army, and also subordinated itself to the command of the Central Chinese Government. All this has been done in order, under the leadership of the Central Chinese Government, to bring about without hindrance or disagreement the unity of the entire Chinese people in the war of defense against Japan.

No sooner had the shot rung out at Liukouchiao than the Red Army was ready to take action against the Japanese robbers at any moment. While subordinating ourselves to orders of the Central Chinese Government, we ourselves wanted to be dispatched to the front line, to undertake the responsibility for all the unforeseen difficulties and dangers of the front line in the war against the Japanese plunderers, were honestly desirous of collaborating with all the friendly armies against the worst enemies of our people, the Japanese imperialists.

### VICTORY AWAITS CHINA

Now, when a new stage has begun throughout China of resistance to Japan, no one will dare to come before the people with such agreements as the Tangu treaty or the agreement between Hoh-Inchin* and Yamada,** which reduced the sovereignty of our country to nothing and cast shame on our country. The people of Northern China, together with the heroic commanders and soldiers of the 29th Army, will no longer tolerate such agreements.

We must mobilize and concentrate all the financial and material resources of the whole of China.

The victorious war of defense must bring about a still further concentration of all the anti-Japanese forces. The urgent task is to draw in all the most talented anti-Japanese cadres of our country for work both in the Central Government and in all the local governments so as to do away with all the obstacles to the war of defense, and also by employing democratic methods to carry through the mobilization of the entire Chinese people on the widest possible scale, to reply to war by war, and to send a big army to Northern China as rapidly as possible.

We must not hide the fact that the army command in all the provinces of Northern China has not yet been united, while the actions of these armies are also not united. This is a tremendous obstacle toward the conduct of the anti-Japanese

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* Hoh-Inchin, former Chinese War Minister.

** Yamada, former Japanese representative in Northern China.

war. At the same time the danger exists that the Japanese adventurers, making use of the disunity, the treachery of various generals, may be able to smash our armies one by one. Therefore, the Central Chinese Government must immediately organize a Headquarters' Staff of the Commander-in-Chief of the anti-Japanese forces of Northern China. All the troops in Northern China must subordinate all movements of troops to the Headquarters' Staff of the Commander-in-Chief.

All the anti-Japanese armies must avoid differences, give up group and egoistic designs that hinder the common cause, refrain from sharing territories and spheres of influence among themselves, but bring about unity in the anti-Japanese war of defense, in complete order, shoulder to shoulder, as one man.

The chief condition of victory is to mobilize the masses of the people, to arm them, and provide them with the full liberty of defending their country. The people are the basis of the state, the people are the chief force of the war of defense, and therefore we must link up still more closely with the people. Is it not the case that the reason why Republican Spain is fighting so stubbornly against the rebel troops, against the German and Italian fascists armed though they be to the teeth, the reason why Madrid is defending itself so steadfastly and victoriously, is that the Spanish government entrusted its fate to the people and armed them? This precious lesson must now be thoroughly applied in China.

Without a moment's delay, all obstacles must be destroyed that hinder the development of our people, who must be given extensive liberties. We must mobilize the millions of the people and send them to the front line; these masses of the people must be given leadership both at the front and in the regions already occupied by the Japanese, and shock detachments of the people must be organized there. Attacks must be made without interruption against the rear of the enemy; they must be given no peace, their forces must be weakened and all their communication lines destroyed; we must unite with all the armies conducting a war of defense against Japan. Such is the plan of the struggle, the most reliable and stable one—that must be carried through.

Partisan units must be organized throughout. In the rear of the Japanese these units must seek out the weak spots and attack them, attack the communication lines of the enemy; everything must be done to prevent the Japanese being able to continue the use of these communications for the transport of their troops and munitions.

At the same time, the masses of the people in Peiping and Tientsin must organize their forces and assist the local authorities to maintain order, to fortify the rear, to expose national traitors and render them harmless, to establish agitational groups throughout, to organize transport and Red Cross units, units to collect presents and gifts for the front, etc. The whole population must be ready as one man to work at any time both at the front and in the rear.

The commanders and soldiers of the 29th Army are already conducting a heroic war of defense. This war is no local one, is no group war, but is the beginning of a war of defense of the whole of China. We cannot consider the defensive war of the heroic 29th Army to be an isolated and independent one. On the contrary, we must ensure that they receive real material and moral aid. Therefore the Central Chinese Government must immediately transfer airplanes and heavy artillery there, and also send a big army to the front. An extremely urgent task is to help the army of defense with all the necessary munitions, bullets, etc.

Communists, all active anti-Japanese fighters, must develop the partisan movement against the Japanese aggressor on a tremendous scale.

They must develop agitation among the masses and organize them into the anti-Japanese front on a wide and effective scale.

They must organize agitation units, units to collect presents and gifts from the population for the needs of the front, Red Cross units, sanitary units, auxiliary units at the front for the delivery of bullets and artillery for the digging of trenches, etc., groups of actors, choruses, etc.

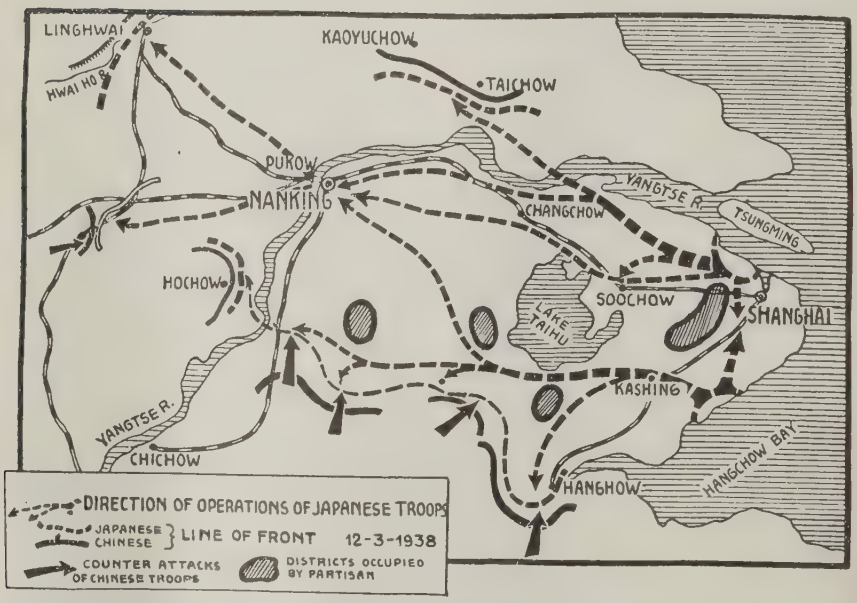
All these people must be given the necessary training so that they may be able to be sent to the front for work at any time. All forces and resources must be mobilized so as to strengthen the heroic war of defense. It is difficult to enumerate all the tasks.

The one thing that is clear is that we must recognize the seriousness of this war of defense, and make use of all possibilities, taking account of the specific situation locally, to intensify activity in all spheres for the salvation of our country.

Wartime does not wait; the unanimous anti-Japanese slogan of the unification of all parties, all groupings, all armies, must be put into operation without delay.

Mobilize, unite, arm all forces, direct the whole of China toward the main aim of the war of defense against Japan!

Whatever the strength and ferocity employed by our enemies in our war of defense, victory will be ours! The last victory will be that of the Chinese people—such is our unswerving determination! The beacon of the national liberation struggle lights up our road to this victory!




(See article Survey of Military Operations in China, p. 393.)

# Survey of Military Operations in China *

BY I. TULIN

THE war in China has been going on for more than eight months. This war involves not only the interests of China, but also those of a number of countries with influence both in Asia and in the Pacific. The tremendous international significance of this war consists in the fact that it is one of the stages on the road to the new world war being developed at breakneck speed by the bloc of fascist aggressors, of which imperialist Japan is an active participant.

The progress of the Japanese aggression begun in China in 1937 is far from being what the aggressors themselves would have liked it to be. Nevertheless, it constitutes one of the essential links of the general plan of Japanese expansion. Having seized Manchuria in 1931 with a view to utilizing it as a base for further aggression, the Japanese military clique repeatedly resorted to all sorts of incidents and conflicts on the Soviet borders and the frontiers of the Mongolian People's Republic, in the attempt to provoke war with the Soviet Union. These attempts, however, were invariably repulsed. The Japanese imperialists staked their chances on the fascist, Trotskyite-Bukharinite band of spies, diversionists and terrorists, but they were defeated in this. While not discarding their plan of expansion at the expense of Soviet territory—which the Japanese militarists are preparing to fulfil with the aid of their German ally, whose dream it is to lay hands on Soviet Ukraine—the Japanese imperialists have now made the conquest of China the central point of their aggression.

Judging by the progress of operations in China, the plan of the Japanese General Staff for a war of conquest in that country provides for the execution of the following two problems during the first stage: the *seizure of Northern China*, to be used subsequently as a base for steady penetration into the heart of China; and *penetration into Central China and a blockade of Chinese ports* with a view to dealing a tangible economic and moral blow at the Chinese people.

The realization of these designs, according to the calculations of the Japanese imperialists, was to have led to rapid surrender by China without Japan having to resort to the mobilization of large military forces. But the calculations of the Japanese military clique did not justify themselves; instead of delivering a rapid, crushing blow, the Japanese have become entangled in a long-drawn-out bloody war.

After the capture of the Peiping-Tientsin district, the Japanese army concentrated its chief attention on capturing the railway between Peiping and Kalgan. Mastery over this section of the line extended the base of the Japanese troops operating on this front and led them to the west, to the Province of Suiyuan. Fresh military detachments were dispatched to the front from Japan to develop this operation.

At the very beginning of its advance on Kalgan, the Japanese army came up against the persistent defense of the Nankow mountain region by the Chinese. Having captured Kalgan, the Japanese

* Survey drawn up on the basis of materials in the press up to March 15, 1938.

were enabled to direct their blow at the rear of the defenders of Nankow. The Thirteenth Chinese Army was in danger of being surrounded and destroyed. In these conditions, the Thirteenth Army, desiring to preserve its forces, retreated southward.

Having seized possession of an adequate base from which to develop further operations for the conquest of North China, the Japanese command began operations aimed at penetrating into the heart of the country. The scenes of military operations along the railways took definite shape; these covered the Peiping-Suiyuan, Kalgan-Taiyuan, Peiping-Hankow and Tientsin-Pukow districts. The Suiyuan operations led to Inner Mongolia and to the borders of the Mongolian People's Republic, while the other operations led to large cities in North China such as Taiyuan, Paoting and Tsinan.

New forces had to be sent to the front to make it possible to develop operations in several directions simultaneously. In September several Japanese infantry divisions, tank and aviation units arrived at the front from Japan. The qualitative superiority of the Japanese troops compelled the Chinese detachments steadily to retreat, but the Chinese troops at every stage offered stubborn resistance. After these battles, which inflicted great losses on the aggressor, the Chinese left their positions totally ruined and retreated to a new line of defense.

In September the Japanese army occupied Tatung and Paoting in North China and continued its forward movement southward.

Simultaneously with the development of operations in North China the Japanese plunderers began military operations around Shanghai in the middle of August. The fighting here was begun by the operations of Japanese marines, later reinforced by infantry from Japan. The infantry divisions that arrived landed at a point north of Shanghai, their object being to outflank the city and deliver a blow in the rear of the Chinese troops defending Shanghai. The advance of the Japanese troops was supported by artillery fire from Japanese warships; the Chinese positions were bombarded by Japanese aviation; nonetheless, over a period of two and a half months the Japanese army was unable to register any essential success on the Shanghai front.

Foreign observers of the fighting during this period noted the point that the intensity of the battles around Shanghai was not behind that of the positional battles of the imperialist war. The Japanese were compelled to mobilize all their technical resources and actually to drive the Chinese troops out of every individual village, out of every single house. The Japanese army suffered heavy losses. During the period between August and October, 1937, 60 per cent of all Japanese losses took place on the Shanghai front.

Meanwhile in North China, the army of the Japanese plunderers had, by the end of September, encountered the Eighth People's Revolutionary Army commanded by Chu Teh. The Eighth Army was concentrated in the northern part of Shansi province and immediately entered into battle with the Japanese troops. It dealt a severe blow against the Japanese division commanded by Itagaki, almost completely destroyed a whole infantry brigade, captured many prisoners and took rich war trophies. The Japanese dispatched units stationed close by to help this division out; these attempted to surround and crush the Eighth Army. But by flexible maneuvers the Eighth Army was able to avoid encirclement and dealt repeated blows at the enemy, attacking them from the rear and tying them up in Northern Shansi, in the Pinginkwang district, until the end of October. Besides this, units of the Eighth Army penetrated to the rear of the Japanese lines and served as the basic core that consolidated the partisan movement in the territories occupied by the Japanese.

The point must be stressed that these successful operations of the Eighth Army were the first important victories scored by the Chinese troops.

The main target of the Japanese advance in North China in October was the city of Taiyuan. The Japanese army organized the capture of this city by ad-

vancing in two directions, from Tatung in the North and Shikiachwang in the East.

It took the Japanese several weeks to advance beyond the Chinese lines of offense. Units from other fronts were brought here and the Japanese army began a systematic siege of Sinchow and Nantsikwang. The line of defense at Nantsikwang was the first to fall. While developing their advance to Taiyuan from the east, the Japanese troops planned to attack Taiyuan from the rear so as to surround and destroy the Chinese army defending it. But this plan failed. The Japanese command again tried to surround the Chinese army, but again the plan fell through. The Chinese left a small garrison to defend the town while their main forces withdrew southward.

The plan to surround the Chinese troops operating in the Shanghai district also failed. In order finally to occupy Shanghai, to surround and wipe out the Chinese troops entrusted with its defense, the Japanese army organized its forces for a second blow at Shanghai from the South. In November a Japanese force of three army divisions landed at Hangchow Bay. These troops began an offensive on Shanghai, trying to encircle it. The Chinese command decided to withdraw their troops from possible encirclement and were able successfully to evacuate their troops from the trap set at Shanghai. The would-be Japanese strategists again failed to wipe out the Chinese forces.

Shanghai was occupied by the Japanese army only three months after military operations began in this district.

From Shanghai the Japanese army immediately continued its advance to the West, aiming at the capture of Nanking, the capital of China. The Japanese imperialists could not permit the Chinese Army which had retained all its forces to remain near Shanghai. Apart from this they hoped that the capture of Nanking would compel China to surrender. In their advance on Nanking, the Japanese gave due consideration to previous mistakes; the Japanese command set themselves the task of surrounding and wiping out the Chinese army defending Nanking.

The Japanese troops advanced to Nanking in three directions: from the North, along the Yangtze River, in the center, along the Shanghai-Nanking railway, and from the South—toward Kwanteh-Wuhu. All of these routes were to meet at Nanking and were to cut all roads of retreat for the Chinese army. Active operations by Chinese rear guard units delayed the southern Japanese group in the vicinity of Kwanteh-Ningo with the result that this group was late in its forward movement. The result of this was that the main forces of the Chinese army succeeded in withdrawing to the south, crossing the Yangtze and making westwards.

Thus, the Shanghai-Nanking operation did not produce the results expected of it by the Japanese militarists. The Japanese army was again confronted with a Chinese army ready to enter battle, an army that had not only maintained its fighting power but had gathered strength and had become steeled in battle. The Japanese troops found themselves in an even more difficult position.

The Chinese army command withdrew their forces from immediate action, being anxious to gain time in order to strengthen the army and prepare further resistance. They countered the superiority of Japanese technique by extending the front in order to compel the Japanese army to diffuse its technique and forces.

The Chinese government took steps to strengthen the defenses of the country, to reinforce its troops, to reorganize the central and local military machine. Various traitors were removed from the military command; measures were taken to overcome errors and shortcomings in the leadership that had on previous occasions led to defeat; a uniform operative plan of operations was established for the entire army and a single command introduced. All of this made it possible for the Chinese army in the subsequent period to proceed to the new stage of the war—to intensified activity at the front.

The Chinese partisan detachments that had begun operations behind the Japanese lines from the very first day of the

Japanese occupation, developed their activities as the Japanese troops advanced into the heart of the country. Partisan troops took possession of entire regions behind the Japanese lines, directing their blows against points of importance for the Japanese army. They destroyed railway stations, attacked troop trains and airdromes. The Japanese invaders were compelled to withdraw big units from the front and dispatch them to the rear to fight the partisans. The methods employed by such "punitive expeditions" set the masses to a still greater degree against the aggressors; masses of volunteers joined the partisan detchments. Thus, the war began to assume the character of a war of large masses of the Chinese people against the Japanese invaders.

Beginning with the latter part of August, 1937, the Japanese command also included South China in the sphere of military operations, aiming in this way to undermine China's military and economic base in the rear by destroying Chinese arsenals, industrial plants, storehouses and railways. With this aim in view, the Japanese militarists direct their air raids at individual centers and railway junctions in South China. Besides points of purely military importance, hospitals, schools, universities, passenger trains and refugee camps are also subjected to bombardment.

As part of its plan to blockade the Chinese coast, a section of the Japanese navy was dispatched to South China waters to put a stop to all possible Chinese navigation here. This blockade was accompanied by the landing of small parties at the islands near Canton, Amoy and Swatow.

During the whole of this period, the Japanese air forces carried through almost daily raids on the cities and ports of South China and the railway lines between Canton and Kowloon (situated between Hongkong and Canton) and Canton and Hankow, in the endeavor to cut communications between China and the British-controlled port of Hongkong. But despite frequent air raids traffic on these routes has not stopped and the partial damage done has been repaired within several hours.

Consequently here again the Japanese command have not achieved their aim. On the contrary, the brutal treatment meted out to the peaceful defenseless population has only intensified the hatred of the Chinese people against the Japanese invaders and facilitated the further strengthening of the front of the struggle against the Japanese.

Thus, with the capture of part of North China, Shanghai and Nanking the war, far from being ended, can be said to be only beginning. Eight months of war have not only not inclined China to surrender, but on the contrary have roused the entire Chinese people to unprecedented heights of enthusiasm for resistance to the insolent aggressor, to the determination either to win or die.

While the Japanese army has formally captured a number of districts in China, in actual fact, however, it is not master of these districts, either from the military or the administrative point of view. The Japanese have control of the railways, but their communications are far from secure and are constantly being destroyed. The Japanese troops, as a result of the mass partisan movement that has developed, are not in a position to hold points they have captured in districts away from the railway and main roads.

During the last two or three months (January-March) the keynote of the development of military operations has been the increasing fighting activity of the Chinese army. The Chinese troops stopped the Japanese advance in the eastern section of the northern front, and broke the Japanese attempts to advance northward on the central front, thereby disrupting the operative plans of the Japanese command.

The operative task set before the Japanese troops in this period was to unite the troops operating in the north and central fronts at a point in the region of the Lunghai railroad approximately on the sector covering Heichow, Suichow, Kweiteh. For this purpose the Japanese troops were to advance from the north of the Hwang Ho River south-

ward and from the south of the Yangtze northward along the Tientsin-Pukow railway.

The Japanese advance on the northern front, in the Shantung province, begun at the end of December, 1937, was stopped in the middle of January. The Japanese troops captured the area of Tsinan-Tsowhsien, Yenchow. All their attempts to move further south and reach the Lunghai railway were repulsed: the Chinese troops themselves took the offensive and recaptured part of the territory occupied by the Japanese.

The Japanese command brought up reserves and organized a counter-attack. The Chinese troops fell back to their original positions. However, by the end of February, after repeated counter-attacks and movements outflanking the Japanese positions from the northwest of Tsining, the Chinese troops again compelled the Japanese to take the defensive.

On February 15 the Chinese troops launched an offensive at Tsining and along the Tientsin-Pukow railway directed at Yenchow. Within three days they had captured Tsining and Wanchang. The Japanese garrison at Tsowhsien was surrounded by Chinese troops.

Thus, the Chinese troops succeeded not only in holding up the Japanese offensive in Shantung province, but on two occasions launched a general counter-offensive, recapturing towns occupied by the Japanese and inflicting serious losses on the latter.

In another very important direction of the northern front, along the Peiping-Hankow railway, the Japanese units were unable as a result of the growing partisan movement behind their lines to move even a single step forward in the course of three months. In February the Japanese command concentrated considerable forces here (four infantry regiments, one cavalry regiment, one hundred tanks and two artillery regiments). They succeeded in breaking through the well-fortified Chinese positions to the south of Changteh, to capture Weihwei and Sinsiang. The Chinese troops retreated to Siuwu.

The emergence of Japanese troops at the Hwang Ho River north of Kaifeng and Chengchow creates a serious menace to the flank of the entire group of Chinese troops operating in the direction of Tientsin-Pukow.

In Shansi province, out of the 60,000 Japanese troops stationed there, 50,000 are occupied in fighting partisans and units of the Eighth Army operating behind the Japanese lines in the mountain district of Wutaishan.

On the central front, continuous attacks by the Chinese troops in the vicinity of Wuhu and Hangchow have diverted big Japanese forces to this sector of the front, thus preventing the Japanese command from organizing a simultaneous offensive along the Tientsin-Pukow railway from north and south. Only after the Chinese troops had stopped the Japanese advance in Shantung province did the Japanese occupation forces operating in the Pukow direction of the central front take the offensive.

However, this offensive was begun with inadequate forces. In the course of twenty-five days the Japanese troops advanced some 90-100 kilometers to the northwest of Nanking and forced the Hwai Ho River near Hwaiyuan-Linhuaikwan. But Chinese counter-attacks compelled them to retreat to the other bank of the river.

Thus, the Japanese offensive organized along the Tientsin-Pukow railway from the South, at the cost of discontinuing active operations on all sectors of the central front, did not produce positive results. The offensive proved to be isolated, unsupported by an advance from the north (in Shantung province), with the result that the basic task set was not fulfilled by the Japanese troops.

January and February saw a considerable increase in the activity of the Chinese airfleet, which by its raids on Japanese airdromes is inflicting serious losses on the latter. At present Japanese bombing planes take to the air only with a strong convoy of pursuit planes, but even under these conditions they do not always succeed in reaching their object.

On several occasions Chinese bombing planes attacked Japanese troops crossing the Hwai Ho River and inflicted severe

losses among them. On the Peiping-Hankow front, twelve Chinese planes attacked columns of Japanese mechanized troops in the district of Tsi (North of Waihoi) and put thirty Japanese tanks out of action. A splendid attack by Chinese planes on the Island of Formosa resulted in the destruction of thirty-six Japanese planes.

The military operations that have been taking place on the fronts in China during recent months show that there has been a change in the character of the Chinese defense; it is becoming a campaign of maneuvers combined with counter-blows: the Chinese command is beginning to maneuver with reserves and effect partial transfers of troops from one direction to another.

By active offensive operations in the southern sector of the central front, the Chinese troops disorganized the concentration of large Japanese forces North of the Yangtze River and thus held back and reduced the speed of the Japanese advance in the direction of Pukow.

The turning point that has been reached on the fronts in China is to be explained not only by the increased fighting power of the Chinese army, by the achievement of greater organization in the leadership of the armed forces, by the unswerving determination of both the rank and file and commanders of the Chinese army to defend the national independence of their fatherland at all costs, but also by the fact that the anti-Japanese struggle has involved almost all sections of the Chinese population, who are rendering active aid and reinforcing the ranks of their army. This turn of the tide is also due to the fact that the central government of China proved itself capable of taking the lead in this struggle, proved itself capable of combining the operations of the regular army with the mass partisan movement that has developed.

Thanks to the activity of the Chinese Communist Party, to its firm operation of the tactics of establishing a united anti-Japanese national front, the struggle of the Chinese people against the aggressor is assuming an increasingly mass and organized character. The development of the struggle against pro-Japanese elements, against traitors in the military and state machine, the resolute exposure of the most active accomplices of the Japanese imperialists—the Trotskyite bandits—who repeatedly attempted and continue to attempt to disrupt the successful anti-Japanese struggle of the Chinese people—all of this also could not help but assist in consolidating China's defense power and in achieving a turning point in military operations.

While it has won considerable territorial successes, Japanese imperialism has by no means won the war. The Japanese rear in the territories occupied is far from being safe and secure. Contact between the army at the front and its supply bases is constantly being broken by the active operations of the Chinese partisans.

The Japanese army is deprived of the possibility of seriously strengthening the positions it has won. In the attempt to solve this complicated task, the Japanese imperialists have been compelled continuously to reinforce their army by calling reserves to the colors.

Thus, according to data published in the foreign press, by the beginning of 1938 the Japanese military command had already called 800,000 men from the reserves and 300,000 from the second line reserves. According to the same sources, during this period the Japanese army was increased by twenty-eight infantry divisions, two cavalry and two artillery brigades, two mechanized brigades and two tank regiments. New technical and auxiliary units have been formed. As a result of the mobilization measures, the Japanese army now has forty-five infantry divisions, and the total strength of the army is around 1,400,000 men. At least 600,000 troops are in China and up to 300,000 in Manchuria.

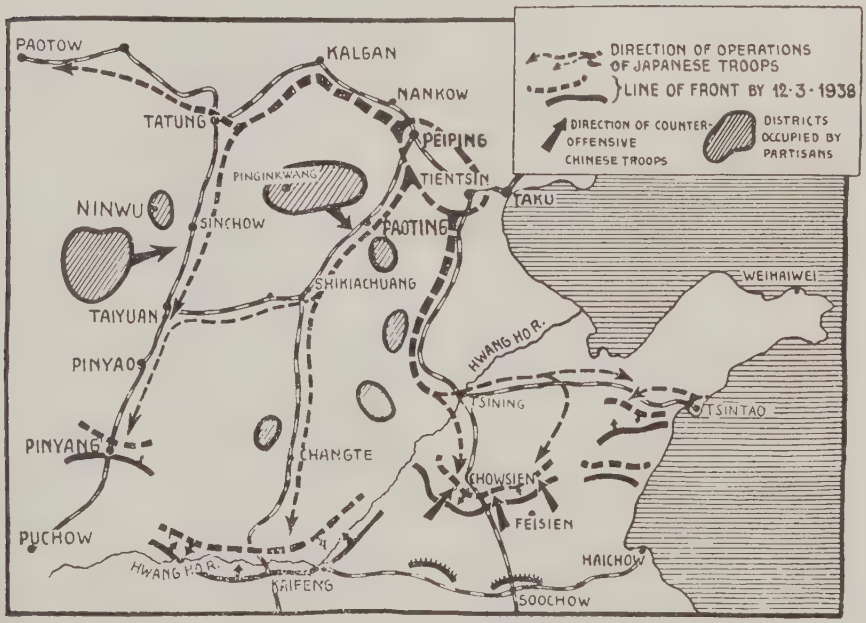
During the war the Japanese army has suffered tremendous losses both in man-power and equipment. It is sufficient to point out that up to the first of January alone, after five and a half months of war, the casualties (killed and wounded) totaled almost 200,000 men and officers. According to recent reports, in the period from August, 1937, to March,

1938, the Japanese army lost 513 planes, brought down by Chinese pursuit planes and anti-aircraft artillery or destroyed at the airdromes. A large number of Japanese tanks, pieces of artillery, and various other kinds of military equipment have either been put out of action or captured by the Chinese troops.

The heavy losses of men, the difficult economic situation of Japan, the unprecedented poverty of the Japanese peasant that has become particularly acute during the war, the calling up of reserves —all these things can not help affecting the moral and political condition of the Japanese army. Cases of Japanese soldiers and even of entire detachments refusing to be sent to the front are becoming increasingly frequent. Wider and wider circles of the Japanese army are becoming dissatisfied with the war. All of this, in its turn, cannot help affecting the fighting power of the Japanese troops who, moreover, are now compelled to take up the defensive in a number of districts as a result of the growing activity of the Chinese troops.

All of these facts go to show that the Chinese people are like a steel spring held down as a result of pressure from without, but whose power of resistance increases with the growing pressure. This is the first conclusion to be drawn now.

The Japanese aggressors are striving to bring the war to a close as rapidly as possible. But the war of the Chinese people, who are resisting the invaders in a united front, is only beginning. And this constitutes the second, no less fundamental, conclusion to be drawn in estimating the military operations in the war of plunder being conducted by Japan in China.



# Chamberlain Kowtows to Fascist Aggressors

BY R. PAGE ARNOT

THE dismissal of Eden, the British Foreign Secretary, marks a sharp turn in the policy of the government of British imperialism. The dropping of Eden is the dropping of the mask. From a pro-fascist policy masked by verbal adherence to the League of Nations, the turn is made in the direction of an open fascist alliance, accompanied by a renunciation of the League of Nations. Not twenty days had elapsed since the turn in British foreign policy was made clear, when fascist aggression was executed in Austria. On March 12, Hitler in one day sent three successive ultimatums to Schuschnigg, and invaded Austria with an army of 250,000 troops. Despite attempts at resistance by the workers, within a few hours Austria had been conquered with the help of the Nazi forces within the country. Hitler and the Gestapo got to work, thousands have been arrested and the *Gleichschaltung* process ("Uniformitization") set in rapildy. But Hitler's aggressive plans did not stop at this. By March 15 the correspondent of the *London Times* was reporting movements of troop-trains and munitions from Germany in the direction of the Czech frontier. These are the immediate fruits of the Chamberlain policy.

* * *

This turn came suddenly enough. On February 12, Mr. Eden had made a reassuring speech at Birmingham in which he told the young Tories that the rumors of a difference between himself and Prime Minister Chamberlain were baseless. Within a few days Mussolini, with regard to the opening of Anglo-Italian negotiations, was offering a veiled ultimatum, the real content of which exacted the dismissal of Eden. On February 20, Hitler made his menacing speech to the Reichstag, voicing his objections to Mr. Eden. The same evening it was announced that Mr. Eden had ceased to be Foreign Secretary.

Yet it was only the denouement that was really sudden. There had been many months of preparation, and before that there had been the whole policy of the National government ever since they had connived in 1931 at the Japanese aggression in Manchuria. When Neville Chamberlain became Prime Minister in the midsummer of last year, almost his first act in signalizing that his government would be even more reactionary than that of Prime Minister Baldwin was his famous "friendly letters" to Mussolini. Since then the pro-fascist tendencies that marked the policy already being operated by Eden have been driven forward at a more rapid pace. Now the point has been reached where even the formerly useful mask of Eden's diplomatic methods and declarations has been thrown aside as no longer serviceable.

Nevertheless the circumstances surrounding this resignation of Eden were such as to bring out with the utmost sharpness the turn that they had been preparing for so long. The whole world became aware that the Prime Minister of Britain was cringing to "a foreign despot," to the fascist aggressors.

This got the people of Britain on the raw. Scarcely had they recovered from the surprise at witnessing Hitler, unhindered by Britain, dictating to Schuschnigg the dismissal of Austrian Ministers (that was prior to the events of March 12), than Hitler occupied

Austria and arrested Schuschnigg himself and they learned that humiliation was also imposed on their own country. When the Prime Minister of France had dismissed his Foreign Minister Delcasse at the behest of the Hohenzollern Kaiser thirty years ago, it was regarded as a humiliation unthinkable for Britain to suffer at any time.

If in remote times—two hundred and fifty years ago—the Stuart King had taken a foreign subsidy as the price of submitting British foreign policy to the direction of the French despot Louis XIV, the ghost of Charles II might now contemptuously say to Mr. Chamberlain: "At least, Mr. Prime Minister, I did not offer to pay a subsidy in return for accepting the dictates of Louis."

The transactions of the days from February 18 to 20 appeared in this light to the mass of the people, whose indignation began to boil up rapidly. The Tory newspapers were hard put to it to defend the Prime Minister effectively. The Liberal newspapers published numerous declarations from members of the Conservative Party condemning Chamberlain. In the debate on February 21 and 22 in the House of Commons, Chamberlain had the worst of it: the Tory Churchill, the representative of the old ruling Tory family of the Cecils, Lord Cranborne and half a dozen conservative military and navel officers spoke strongly against Chamberlain; and only the ruinous tactics of the Labor Party, which neglected the opportunity to split the ranks of the Tories, prevented a serious reduction of the government majority when it came to the vote.

The Tory Prime Minister was placed in a difficult position. For scores of years the stock Tory argument has been that they alone were the true patriots and that the Liberals, then the Laborites, then the Communists were in succession, in the Tory phrase, "the friends of every country but their own." The Tories always vaunted themselves as the guardians of the "national honor" and of the British Empire; and won a certain amount of support by this means among the petty bourgeoisie and even among the backward sections of the working class. Once the cry of "No Surrender to Hitler and Mussolini" (put forward by the Communist *Daily Worker*) seems to the masses to be accurately directed against Chamberlain, once the Tories are found out to be only the mouthpiece of a venal group of monopoly capital, who would sell the "national honor" without compunction, the hold of the Tories on these backward sections begins to be loosened.

Once the mass of the British people begin to realize that the National government, having supported the fascist powers and jettisoned the policy of collective security, is now ready to sacrifice the interests of peace by betraying Austria* and Czechoslovakia to Hitler as it has already betrayed Spain and China, the Tory influence will immediately begin to wane. And when it is further realized that these gentlemen of the City, not content with being ready to sacrifice other people's territory as colonies for fascism, will not scruple to give away parts of the British Empire to fascism if it should suit their class interest, then the chauvinist demagogy of the Tories will ring hollow in the ears of even the most backward sections of the electorate.

The Tory press, of course, realizing what a danger this was for the government, have been uttering barefaced lies, denying that Mussolini or Hitler had anything to do with Eden's resignation. But the facts will not hide. And the Conservative member of Parliament for Wallsend, in giving an explanation to her constituency of why she had voted for Chamberlain, also gave the game away.

"However regrettable it may be," she said, "that the head of a foreign state

* It is characteristic that when the French government after Hitler's first ultimatum to Schuschnigg made the proposal to the British government that it immediately protest, it was only six hours later (at 10 o'clock in the evening of March 11) that the British government associated itself with the French protest in Berlin. By this time Hitler's hirelings in Austria were already in power. It is also characteristic that it was just at the most decisive hours for Austria that Ribbentrop was dining with Chamberlain.

should demand the resignation of a Foreign Secretary, yet, if our Foreign Minister has become an antipathy to the man with whom we are trying to negotiate, then perhaps, however reluctantly, it was best to make the sacrifice."

While this point is of considerable importance, the content of this turn in British foreign policy is of still greater importance. It cannot be doubted that the central question of the moment in Western Europe for every democrat and lover of peace and freedom is the defense of Republican Spain; and that Chamberlain's declaration of policy has an immediate relation to the struggle in Spain. The Anglo-Italian and Anglo-German negotiations which began with the fall of Eden represent an increased danger for Spain and therefore for the defense of democracy and peace. Chamberlain's policy is to give belligerent rights to Franco and to remove all hindrances to Mussolini pouring into Spain fascist armies and munitions; and for this purpose to accord him a loan of millions of pounds.

Therefore, the Communist Party very properly sought to concentrate popular attention on Spain (there was a momentary danger lest the popular attention should be led astray in a discussion of the respective merits of Eden and Chamberlain) and pointed out that British seamen were being murdered by Italian fascists on the high seas while the British Prime Minister spoke of "friendship" with the murderers.

Even as Chamberlain was speaking, Italian airplanes were pouring down bombs on men, women and children in Barcelona, 500 shells fell in heroic Madrid, 150 Italian bombers were attacking Teruel. The proposed pact with Italy, said the *Daily Worker*, "is a pact to drown Spanish democracy in blood, to buttress fascism and to prepare the attack on all democracy in Europe," and it demanded that the Labor movement place itself at the head of the great popular movement of protest against the crime. It urged on the Labor movement the gathering of the strong forces of peace in Great Britain in a demand "for resignation of the government and its replacement by a Labor and democratic government which would support the countries desiring peace . . . struggle to halt the fascist attack on European democracy by removing the embargo on arms for Spain and by insisting on the withdrawal of the German and Italian armies from Spain."

If recognition of Franco and a free hand for Italian fascism in Spain are one of Mussolini's demands, what are likely to be the other dishes in the fascist bill of fare? The next is undoubtedly Ethiopia, where, two years after the aggressors reached Addis Ababa, the resistance of the Ethiopians still continues. Now Ethiopia is flanked by several British colonies, into which tribesmen can retreat when hard pressed and from which they can refurnish to a small extent their scanty stock of weapons. Count Ciano on March 8 told the British Ambassador in Rome that the British will be expected to join fascist Italy in crushing the Ethiopian resistance by undertaking to suppress the Kenya Colony tribesmen who give aid or comfort to their kinsmen across the frontier.

Neville Chamberlain, who is willing for Mussolini to have a free hand in Spain, will not be likely to make any difficulty about helping to crush Ethiopia. To recognize the Italian *right* to Ethiopia however involves Britain's commitments to the League of Nations, wherefore it is possible that this question will be put by Britain on the agenda of the League of Nations Council meeting in May. No doubt, were the League of Nations to refuse, Mr. Chamberlain would treat such an example of firmness on the part of the League as another "proof" of the "weakness" of the League.

The next question will be an Anglo-Italian treaty. Presumably Great Britain will be expected to give extremely favorable terms to Italy to make up for the damage done to fascist Italian economy by the sanctions that operated in 1935-36. (All due of course to that Satanic League of Nations which had caused the Christian soul of Chamberlain to sin against Mussolini!) But trade requires to be financed. And here comes in the rumored loan of at least £25,000,000 stipulated for in the Italian press.

There may be, probably will be, other

demands by Mussolini who has never shown himself backward at asking too much. But what does Britain hope to get from the deal? Apparently, up till now, the only thing that the British imperialists covet and hope by this means to obtain is—the "friendship" of Mussolini. In return for these demands upon Britain, Mussolini will be graciously pleased to cease the anti-British propaganda in the countries of the Arab East and to recognize that Britain has a special interest in the Mediterranean as its route to the East.

So it has come about that Britain by failing to impose oil sanctions against fascist Italy in 1935, by rejecting the policy of collective security through the instrument of the League of Nations Covenant and the peace pacts, by yielding to each successive manifestation of fascist aggression, is now in a position of being blackmailed by Mussolini. Moreover, like all blackmailers, he is certain *not* to keep any agreement to which he puts his signature. The experience of the rule of the dictators—Hitler and Mussolini—shows the opposite.

Hatred of Communism, hatred of the People's Front, hatred of democracy are a mainspring of Chamberlain's policy. The National government is making a deal with fascist Italy also because it *wants* to buttress fascism.

But whatever hopes certain politicians may have placed in the breaking of the Rome-Berlin axis by the strengthening of the Rome end, it is clear that in reality friendship with Mussolini is also friendship with Hitler. The new foreign secretary, Lord Halifax, was chosen precisely because of his extremely subservient attitude to fascist Germany, precisely because he was the candidate of the Cliveden clique of the pro-fascist millionaires. The rapprochement with Mussolini is the rapprochement with the fascist powers. Lest there be any doubt on this point Von Ribbentrop emphasized it in his London conversation with Halifax on March 10. The Vansittart play at capturing the axis was to stop.

The conditions of the Anglo-German negotiations are well known, and consist mainly in this that British foreign policy should be oriented along the line of the Berlin-Rome axis. Britain is to accept in principle the fascist demand for colonies, despite the fact that in successive years the annual conferences of the Conservative Party have refused to accept this. Britain is to observe with benevolent neutrality the repeated aggressions of Hitler in Austria, Czechoslovakia, Brazil or wherever else he discovers sufficient Germans among the population. Britain is humbly to say amen to all the anti-Bolshevik litanies of Hitler, which in practice can mean anything from the anti-Comintern treaty to the attack on Spanish democracy, and the Cagoulards in France and the open occupation of Austria.

As a matter of form, Chamberlain sent a note of protest to the Berlin government against the occupation of Austria. Hitler had received similar British notes after each of his successive infractions of the Versailles Treaties—in 1935 and in 1936; and the only difference on this occasion was the more marked contempt shown by the fascists in their reply to the formal protest of France and Britain. Not for a hundred years, complained the *Manchester Guardian,* has a British government in peacetime received such a note.

It is not enough that Hitler adopts a contemptuous attitude to the British note. He has long ago raised the question of how most quickly to develop toward fascism inside Britain. Hitler demands the muzzling of the British press as the first step. There will be protests about this perhaps even in some Tory circles. But the Chamberlain government knows that Hitler's demand is an integral part of the whole project for alliance with fascism. The alliance with fascism cannot be carried through unless there be at the same time a suppression of popular liberties in Britain itself. Therefore the extension of reaction, already evident in a series of measures and activities in recent years, may now be expected to be planned on a large scale. Thus this turn of British foreign policy towards fascist alliance abroad is also a turn towards reaction and growth of fascism at home. To resist this there is only one effective

means—the unity of the working class, the unity of all progressive and peace-loving forces.

The public trial of the anti-Soviet "Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites" exposed to the whole world the plans of the traitors to the land of socialism, spies and assassins, allies and agents of fascism, and gave a smashing blow to the fascist plans of aggression. The sentence of the Supreme Court was a sentence by the entire Soviet people and was dictated not only by the interests of the defense of the U.S.S.R. but also by the interests of the cause of peace and democracy throughout the world, by the interests of the whole of progressive and advanced mankind. In countries of bourgeois democracy like Britain, in answer to the foul policy of the fascist aggressors and their Trotskyite agents, it is essential to strengthen the fight against war and fascism and show that if a united struggle is waged, the forces of peace and democracy, led by the working class, can win the victory.

# The Seizure of Austria by German Fascism

*[In connection with the occupation of Austria by Hitler's troops, the Communist Parties of Austria, Germany, Czechoslovakia and France, and also the "Italian People's League" (organization of Italian political emigres) addressed manifestoes to their own peoples and to the peoples of all countries.*

*Below we publish these manifestoes, published in* l'Humanite *of March 13 and in the anti-fascist press of various countries.]*

MANIFESTO OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AUSTRIA

THROUGH military power Hitler has brought Austria under his yoke. He is trying to crush the will to freedom of the Austrian people under the heels of his soldiers. He has imposed a foreign government on us just three days before the national vote called for for many years by his own agents. He has called it off for fear of the will of the Austrian people expressed in the result of the vote, which would have been an overwhelming majority for freedom and independence. He has called it off for fear of the defeat he would have suffered on March 13.

Berchtesgaden increased the people's resistance a hundredfold. All the national forces were uniting in defense of their home against fascist barbarity.

Against this united front of the Austrian people, Hitler has sent his artillery, his tanks and airplanes.

People of Austria! Protect yourselves. Resist the foreign intruders and their agents. Unite, Catholics and Socialists, workers and peasants. Unite in the front of all the Austrian people. All differences of outlook, all party differences recede before the sacred task now confronting the Austrian people — Unity against Hitler; Unity to chase Hitler's soldiers out of Austria.

Workers, remain firm! Remain united and true to the proud traditions of the Austrian working class. Don't be humbled. In spite of the terror make factories the centers of resistance. Don't let the trade unions be smashed.

Soldiers, officers! officials! You who are true to the country, unite with the people, be the advance guard of bitter resistance to Hitler and his agents.

People of Austria, defend yourselves! Make "Red-White-Red Unto Death" a real slogan!

Let German fascism learn, let the whole civilized world hear, that the Austrian people will never recognize this foreign government established by bayonets and tanks. The Austrian people will oppose the fascist tyrants unto death.

Hitler guns triumphed on March 11. On that day the Austrian people began their fight for national freedom which will end with the shaking off of the Hitler bayonet-dictatorship.

People of Europe, people of the world! Hear Austria's voice, hear the voice of a people who love their freedom and independence above all, whose culture is loved by the whole world, who is the enemy of none. Hear its voice and help, help, help!

[The appeal goes on to declare that it is not only the peace of the Danube that is at stake, but the peace of Europe, and that every capitulation is an encouragement to Hitler aggression. Only solidarity with the Austrian people heroically fighting for their freedom can put an end to fascist war-making in Europe.

The Austrian people will continue to fight and, with the help of the world

peace front, will create a free, independent Austria.]

### MANIFESTO OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

FIRMNESS, determination, unity!

Proletarians, working people, citizens, men and women! On the night of March 11, Austria lost its independence. The Austrian people, who wished by voting to prove they had no desire to be incorporated in the "Third Empire," were subjected to attack. And by means and methods that have been condemned by the entire world the domination of the Swastika was proclaimed in Austria. Troops entered Austria.

Workers, anti-fascists and all defenders of the independence of Austria were arrested. All the peoples of Europe and of the whole world are undergoing hours of the profoundest shock. They see the hand of imperialist violence being stretched out to all the countries of Central Europe. They see how, as a result of the capitulation of Austria and the entry of the troops of the Third Empire, peace is being destroyed on the Danube and the danger of a horrible new war is increasing. The eyes of all who are indignant at the violence perpetrated on Austrian territory, who strive for peace, for justice, the eyes of all are turned toward the international forces of peace, toward the defenders of international treaties, toward the forces that defend the independence of countries subjected to attack, and they call on them: Put a stop to fascist violence, defend peace, defend international treaties! Secure the right of Austria and the other central European countries to their independence.

The whole of Czechoslovakia must take up this call. On the horrible night of March 11 the nations and peoples of Czechoslovakia learned what to expect from fascism. They learned that no treaties could help them and that retreat leads to catastrophe. Never has it been so clear that Czechoslovakia will be able to defend its independence and liberty only by its own firmness and energy. Those who give way to fear, who wish to lead Czechoslovakia along the road of capitulation, menace the independence of Czechoslovakia, betray the nation and the country to fascism. Therefore, the entire people must be inspired, with a single will, to pay a thousand times more attention and vigilance to the capitulators who wish to destroy the existence of Czechoslovakia. A thousand times more attention and vigilance must be paid to the intrigues of the reactionary elements connected with Hitler. A thousand times more vigilance and resoluteness must be displayed to the Henlein Party, this agency of the "Third Empire."

Let our resolution and will to defend the independence of our country be impenetrable! Let us have a thousand times more confidence in ourselves, in the peoples of Czechoslovakia, in the powerful allies of the republic!

Let the loud watchword ring out today throughout the whole of Czechoslovakia: *Long live independent and free Czechoslovakia! Let us be resolute at all costs! Let us give our blood and lives for the liberty of the people of Czechoslovakia! Down with defeatism and cowardice!*

We appeal to all working people, to Socialists, to all the democratic parties. We extend our hand to all so as to defend the republic by our joint action! Be ready!

Long live the united front in defense of the republic and the independence of Czechoslovakia! A united working class, a united people, will give the republic the strength to hold out, however serious the events that await it.

### APPEAL OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GERMANY

ON MARCH 12, Hitler made an attack on the Austrian people and placed them under brutal military rule. This crime forms another link in the chain of the unprecedented war provocations with which Hitler is driving the world into war. The reasons given for this action in his proclamation are intended to furnish at the same time the justification for further measures

against other countries, especially against Czechoslovakia. Hitler fascism intends to destroy the independence of these countries and the freedom of their peoples. Hitler declares that he is liberating Austria. In actual fact, however, he has robbed the Austrian people of their right of self-determination, and subjected them to brutal terrorism. Hitler, cruelly oppressing the German people, has no right to speak of the liberation of other peoples. Hitler's war provocations are plunging the German people into a catastrophe, and menace the very existence of the German people.

The Communist Party of Germany declares, in full agreement with the real will of the German people: Our people want peace, and have nothing in common with Hitler's war crimes. We call upon the German people for a united struggle against the crime of the Nazi war party: For the immediate withdrawal of the German troops and German terrorist bands from Austria! For the complete independence of Austria! Freedom and the real right of self-determination for the Austrian people!

We appeal to the toilers' and to the workers' organizations of the whole world and their internationals for the immediate establishment of the united fighting front against Hitler fascism, the leading incendiary of the world war, and for the salvation of peace and the freedom of the peoples. We call upon them for the fight for the formation of international guarantees against the continuous war provocations of Hitler, and for the carrying out of an international solidarity campaign for the Austrian people. Offer joint resistance against the intolerable burdens and deprivations which this drive towards war is bringing our people! Fight against oppression, violence, and deception in your country, fight for your freedom, for your own rights! Create the united front and the People's Front of all toilers of Germany!

We appeal to the Committee of the German Social-Democratic Party, and to all Social-Democratic organizations, to come to an immediate understanding with the Communist Party and with the Communist organizations, for the joint mobilization of the German people against Hitler's war crimes. We call upon the Catholics of Germany for the joint struggle against the war crimes of Hitler fascism, against the persecution and suppression of religion in Germany, a persecution now shared by the Catholics of Austria.

Friends of peace and freedom!

Form everywhere the peace front against the war front of fascism!

### APPEAL OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF FRANCE

EUROPE is struck by a thunderbolt and everybody is asking anxiously what the future will be. Austria, whose independence was guaranteed by international agreements, has become a vassal state of Germany. Hitler's troops have invaded Austria: the Chancellor, Schuschnigg, has been arrested; and Austria connects from now onwards two totalitarian states whose threats against France cannot be heard with indifference by any Frenchman worthy of the name. The subjugation of Austria by the Berlin government is only one stage in the realization of the great plan of conquest.

Czechoslovakia, the ally of France, is now threatened. The plan is to subjugate this country, and then to attack France, which would then be exposed to the onslaughts of all those who regard our country as their deadly enemy, and would like to destroy it, down the memory of the great French Revolution which gave to the world the glorious example of struggle for freedom and the rights of humanity.

While international fascism continues its policy of violence and war in Central Europe, the struggle goes on in Spain, where the Republican government, in defending its freedom, is defending the freedom of the world and the safety of France.

The fate of France is being decided both in Central Europe and in Spain, and the victory of the Republican Spanish troops will relieve us of the care of defending one frontier more.

The Communist Party has the right to recall that had its advice been followed

and the energetic and cautious foreign policy which it proposed been carried out, then France's freedom and independence would not have been so endangered as they are now.

The unity of the French nation, which the agents of Hitler are doing their utmost to prevent, is an urgent necessity.

The Communist Party proclaimed at its Eighth Congress in Villeurbanne (January 22-25, 1936):

"The Communists, who stretch out a brotherly hand to the Catholic workers for joint defense of freedom and peace against the foes of the French people, appeal for the cooperation of all men and women of good will.

"For the continuation of a policy of social and human progress, which will be spread over the whole world by the influence and the greatness of France: the policy of the freedom inherited from our forefathers; in defense against the attacks of the fascists, the warmongers, the foreign agents. In defense of the peace and security of our homeland, of which the Franco-Soviet Pact is one of the most important guarantees.

"Long live the unity of the French nation!"

### DECLARATION OF THE ITALIAN PEOPLE'S LEAGUE

THE recent events in Austria show the extreme seriousness of the situation that threatens to destroy the recent hopes for peace.

Hitler Germany has seized Austria and crushed the national independence of its people by force.

The Rome-Berlin Axis that prepared the onslaught on Spain and hastened the invasion of China by Japan is now setting alight the flames of war in Central Europe by the occupation of Austria. Mussolini, who has sacrificed the national independence of Austria to Hitlerite Pan-Germanism, Mussolini, who supports Hitler in the most brazen of all war provocations, did not hesitate at all to give up the defense of the national independence of Italy itself, near whose very borders German Nazi imperialism established itself on March 12.

Mussolini has betrayed Austria and betrayed Italy.

He has betrayed Italy, betrayed the 500,000 Italians who gave up their lives so as to remove the German menace from our borders and from the Adriatic; he has betrayed the Italians who have fought for centuries for the liberty and unity of Italy.

The Italian People's League, in the name of its 45,000 members, basing itself on the moral support of millions of Italians, including those living in Italy, exposes to the whole world the treachery of Mussolini who is placing our great nation in bondage to Germany.

The People's League issues this urgent call to Italians:

"Italians! Mussolini drove Italy into war, he sacrificed the interests and independence of our nation for the sake of his frenzied war policy!

"Italians! Only your protest and your action can save the world and Italy. Fight to rid Italy of German tutelage. Unite with the friends of peace and liberty in all countries so as to rouse the democratic powers to the defense of the peace and liberty of nations, to ward off the fascist war that threatens to overwhelm the world and to draw Italy into the last of catastrophies!"

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